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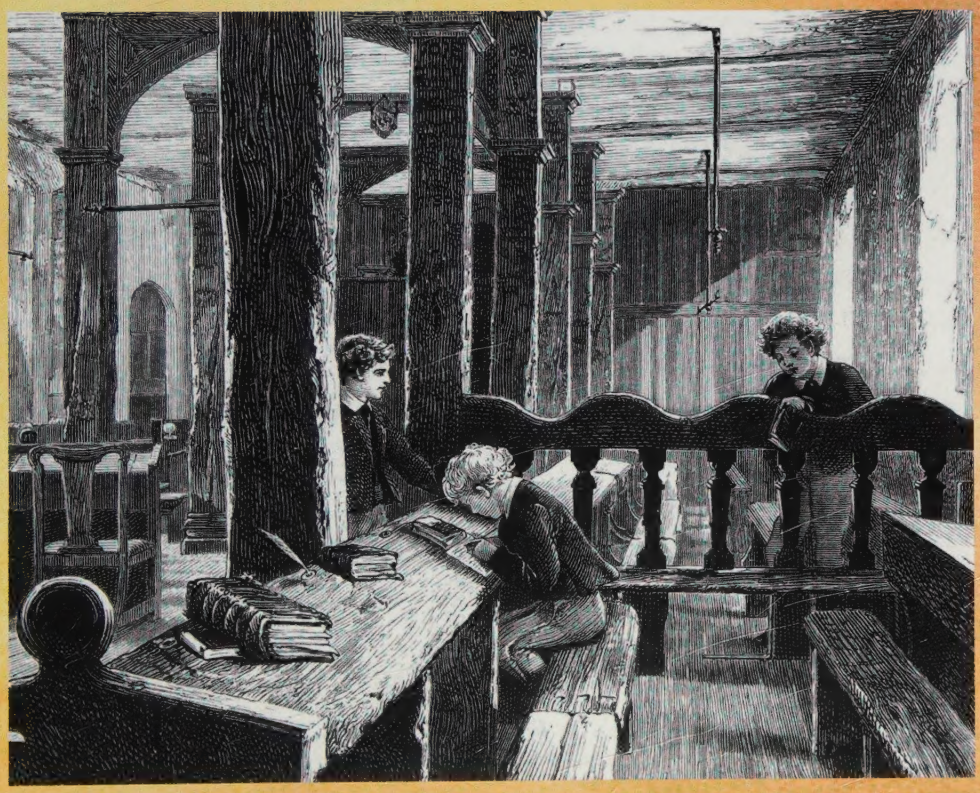
Social Sciences

The correspondence of Baron Armfelt and the other conspirators against the Swedish government: translated from the Swedish copy published by the government at Stockholm.

Gustaf Mauritz Frihere-Armfelt



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Armfelt, Gustaf Mauritz, Frihere
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Mainly correspondence with Magdalena Charlotta Rudenschöld.
London : printed for G. G. and J. Robinson, 1795.
xii,164p. ; 8°

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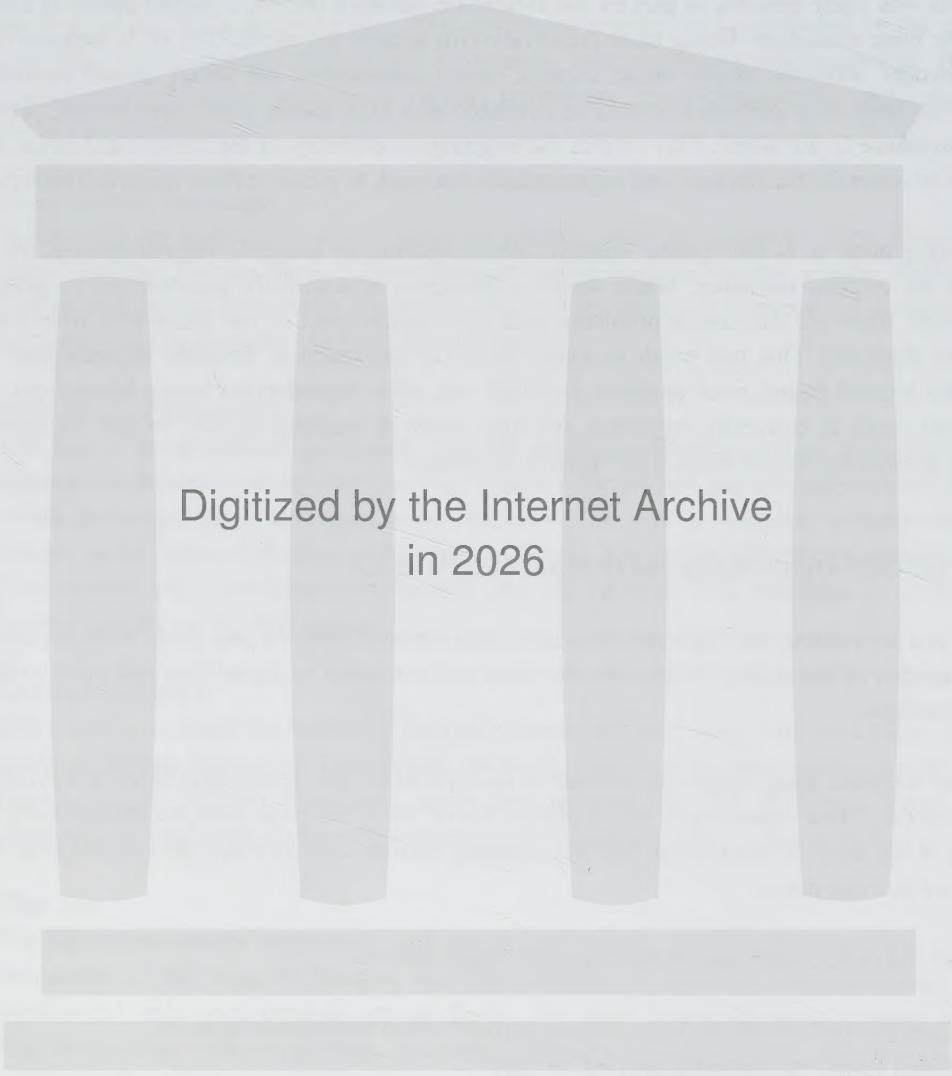
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THE

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

BARON ARMFELT

AND THE OTHER CONSPIRATORS

AGAINST THE

SWEDISH GOVERNMENT:

TRANSLATED FROM THE SWEDISH COPY PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT AT STOCKHOLM.

LONDON.

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1795.

PREFACE

BY THE

TRANSLATOR.

IT is unneceſſary to inform the public in what manner the Swediſh Government was ſo fortunate as to get poſſeſſion of a great part of the original letters and papers written by Baron Armfelt and his friends, and which that gentleman entruſted to a perſon he left behind him at Naples. Several letters which they had written to each other were alſo intercepted at the Swediſh Poſt-offices, and it appears that a great number were burnt by Mademoiſelle de Rudenſkiold, a few hours before ſhe was apprehended. The

correſpondence was carried on in Swediſh and French, and is very voluminous. Such parts of it as relate to the main object, were publiſhed by the Government at Stockholm in the Swediſh language: it is from that publication the following tranſlation is made, and the projects of the conſpirators do not ſeem to require a ſtronger elucidation.

Baron Armfelt, who led the whole, pretends that he was juſtified in his endeavours to introduce a Ruſſian force into Sweden, to overturn the Adminiſtration, to deſtroy its leading Members, and to riſk all the miſchiefs of civil and foreign war, in a country already drained of its natural ſtrength, under an infant Monarch, and in times replete with danger to every public eſtabliſhment, and to private happineſs throughout every deſcription of men.—He ſets forth his juſtification by attributing to the Swediſh Adminiſtration a want of ſyſtem in all their affairs, their encouragement of

of a faction that aims at the ſubverſion of the Monarchy, and even the purpoſe of deſtroying the young Monarch himſelf.

On the other hand it is aſſerted, that the ambition of Baron Armfelt, his confidence in his talents and popularity, his neceſſitous circumſtances, the impatience with which he bears any check to his profuſion, and his perſonal hatred of thoſe who ſtand in his way, are the only motives of his conduct, in every part of which thoſe motives are diſcoverable.

The Swediſh Adminiſtration have expreſſed their horror of the preſent ſyſtem of France, and a juſt dread of any change in their own conſtitution and laws; and have declared that their political conduct with regard to that unfortunate country has been miſrepreſented by the agents of Baron Armfelt, agreeably to the inſtructions he gave them for that purpoſe. It is not the buſineſs of the Tranſlator to conſider what very unfortunate conſide-

rations or neceſſities may have guided the Swediſh Cabinet on the queſtion of the French war; but whatever thoſe Conſiderations or neceſſities were, they do not prove a purpoſe in the friends of the Regent of undermining the Swediſh Conſtitution; and it comes within impartiality to inſiſt on this diſtinction, in order to ſeparate the attempts of the conſpirators from the pretexts on which they were continued. In this view it may alſo be right to attend to the following circumſtances.

Baron Armfelt was a Lieutenant in the Swediſh guards, with a perſon and qualifications much in his favour, when the late King appointed him to be one of the Gentlemen of the Prince Royal. From this period he roſe rapidly through the uſual military gradations, but was no otherwiſe remarkably diſtinguiſhed than by thoſe further reſerves the Sovereign held for his favourites. In the late war againſt Ruſſia, he commanded a choſen

corps

corps from the province of Dalecarlia, with which he fought well on ſeveral trying occaſions; and when his Royal Maſter was aſſaſſinated, Baron Armfelt was Lieutenant General in the Swediſh Army, Grand Governor of the City of Stockholm, Member of the Swediſh Academy, Knight of all the Swediſh Orders, of the Ruſſian Order of St. Andrew, and of the Daniſh Order of the Elephant, and Firſt Gentleman of the Bedchamber.

In the Adminiſtration which was formed immediately after the calamity alluded to, Baron Reuterholm was honoured with the full confidence of the Duke Regent, but without accepting any oſtenſible poſt. The ſervants of the late King were gradually diſmiſſed, or removed to diſtant employments; and Baron Armfelt finding himſelf amidſt new men and meaſures, was induced to give up the ſhare to which he pretends he had a claim in the Regency, and to abſent himſelf on a miſſion to the Italian States.

It will be ſeen that the correſpondence in queſtion began ſoon after. The diſcovery of its criminality was acquired by the Regency in October 1793, but was not made public till the December following, when it was feared that an attack on the life of the Regent was to be the ſignal for further atrocity.

Immediately after theſe letters fell into the hands of the Regency, his Majeſty's Governor (the Count de Gyllenſtolpe) was diſmiſſed from his poſt, and, from conſideration for the young King, was no otherwiſe puniſhed than by an order to abſent himſelf from the Court, and to retire to his eſtate at a diſtance from the capital.

LIST

LIST

OF

PRISONERS AND PUNISHMENTS.

THE Baron Guſtave Maurice Armfelt, henceforth Guſtave Maurice Magnuſſon, condemned by virtue of the 1ſt ſection of the 4th chapter of Swediſh Criminal Law, to be deprived of his nobility and diſhonoured, to loſe his life and to be beheaded, and to have his goods forfeited to the uſe of the Crown. And further, as he has not appeared within the time allotted, to be outlawed throughout Sweden and its dependencies.

John Albert Ehrenſtrom, King's Secretary, henceforth John Albert Nilſon, condemned by the 2d and 3d ſections of the 4th chapter of Criminal Law to loſe his nobility, to be diſhonoured, to loſe

his life, and to be beheaded, and his goods to be forfeited to the uſe of the Crown.

The Demoiſelle Magdelaine Charlotte Counteſs de Rudenſkiold, to loſe her nobility, her life and honour, and to be beheaded, with the confiſcation of her property.

Colonel Aminoff to be left to the judgment of God, for want of further proof.

The Valet de Chambre Mineur, the Tavern-keeper Forſter, Lieutenant-Colonel Lilje, M. Sources, Merchant, M. Segneul, Secretary, and M. de Franc, late Secretary of State, and Director General of the Poſt-office, to be acquitted for want of proof; reſerving, however, to the King's Attorney, to try M. de Franc by his peers for abuſe of truſt.

The above ſentences were given by the Court of Parliament; and, on an appeal

appeal made by the Lawyer of the Crown to the High Court of Juſtice, it was further declared, that the name of Guſtave Maurice Magnuſſon ſhould be expoſed on a gallows in all the public places of the great towns of the kingdom.

That J. A. Nilſon ſhould ſtand in public with an iron collar round his neck, previous to his execution.

That Colonel Aminoff ſhould be condemned to priſon for life.

That Mineur and Forſter ſhould not be ſet at large till they had confeſſed all they knew of the conſpiracy of M. de Armfelt; and that further examination ſhould be made into the conduct of M. de Franc and of M. de Sources.

Theſe ſentences have been executed in all their parts, except the loſs of life, his Royal Highneſs the Duke Regent having

having remitted the ſentence of death on Ehrenſtrom to that of perpetual imprisonment; and having alſo made the ſame change in the ſentence paſſed on Mademoiſelle de Rudenſkiold, with an order for her being previouſly expoſed on a public ſcaffold, which was rigorouſly put into execution.

THE

THE

CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

No. I.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to M. Ehrenſtrom.

Drottningholm, 19th July 1792.

SIR,

I BEG of you to inform me how I may convey to you, in the beſt way, my letters for General Baron Armfelt; ſhould I ſend them directly to the Cabinet, or do you approve of any other method? I am afraid of committing ſome blunder which may be fatal to us. Allow me alſo to remind you of the cypher which the General requeſted you to

copy forme; I want it for Count Stackelberg, who talks to me of it every time we meet; the Baron told him he ſhould receive it from me. - - - -

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No. II.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Aix-la-Chapelle, 23d Sept 1793.

- - - - - The beſt method of convincing both friends and enemies of my not intending to return to Sweden in its preſent ſtate, is to remind them of my having accepted the miſſion to Italy; and that, even in the caſe of my diſmiſſion, I am determined not to go back to ſuch a den of aſſaſſins, Jacobins, and wretches. The moment of playing an important part is yet far off, at leaſt twenty-five months. In that ſpace of time I ſhall have travelled through Italy, and be on my return to the North. You will ſee no revo-

lution

lution in favour of royalty before that time, and any revolution for contrary purpoſes can be hindered only by the Empreſs; and I aſk what would be the conſequence? Would not Sweden groan under a foreign, and under a civil war? I do not ſpeak of the difficult taſk which would fall to me, and for which I ſhall always be in time. I adore the independence and glory of my country; but, all things conſidered, and in the hope that the triumph of folly will not be too marked, we muſt leave the field open to our miſchief-makers, that their blindneſs, baſeneſs, ſpirit of perſecution, their miſmanagement of the finances, ſtupidity, and imprudence, may all be diſplayed; and that the chief deſire and hope of the nation may be to ſee the ſon of Guſtavus III. reign alone, and bring us back to where we were before. Don't look for any burſt of energy or deſpair in the Swediſh nation—It is not in the Swediſh character—I mean that, having choſen our meaſures, we muſt keep to them for a long time, and afterwards ſeize the beſt moment for ſtriking with ſucceſs. Our na-

tional character is like a rough ſtone, of no intrinſic value, but made valuable by the genius of him who directs it. At preſent, therefore, my angel, we ſhould fix our attention on two circumſtances; the increaſe of the public diſcontent, and the progreſs of the activity and capacity of the King: when theſe are formed, there will remain no doubt either of his deſire to reign alone, or of the national wiſh that he ſhould.— Sixteen or eighteen months muſt firſt elapſe, and what could I do in Sweden before that time? We ought now to think of preventing the miſchief from taking root. We ſhould conſult the intereſts of the King and of the Regent, by diſpoſing the Empreſs to take open meaſures for the former: all that is neglected.

P. S. I wiſh General Platen would aſk for his diſmiſſion. This brave old man would do ſo, I am ſure, if he ſaw the chance of his coming back to the ſervice; in four years hence, with the rank of Field Marſhal. Think of prevailing on him.

No. III.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Amſterdam, 9th October 1792.

The idea of extending the King's minority ſeems abſurd; but that he ſhould receive a doſe of aqua-tophana, that he ſhould be killed gradually, is an exquiſite contrivance which muſt not ſurpriſe us.

No. IV.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Hague, 13th October 1792.

I will get the earlieſt information I can as to the letter in queſtion. Poor Stackelberg has made an effort to come into play, by which, after all, he might ruin his credit at home, and perhaps loſe his place. If the

affairs of France do not bring about a change of ſyſtem in Sweden, we are ruined, and ſhall become a ſecond Poland, by the re-eſtabliſhment of the Conſtitution of 1720. The Empreſs does not wiſh it, for ſhe has promiſed to ſupport the King; but her Miniſters would be glad to ſee us embroiled, and the kingdom a prey to anarchy. The great Catharine is not the ſame perſon; the energy and activity of her character go off as her years increaſe.

No. V.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Crimpen, 28th October 1792.

The letter from M. de Franc, Secretary of State, throws me into great uneaſineſs on the young King's account. He has given me an alarming account of his health. Do you think the aqua-tophana has been adminiſtered?

No. VI.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Bruſſels, 4th November 1792.

- - - I hope that you have put all my papers out of ſight, and in ſome ſure way. If not, I conjure you by all that is ſacred in the world to do ſo. As to Ehrenſtrom, do not forget yourſelf ſo far as to truſt to any proteſtations he may make of his honour and attachment. He is a poltroon, and ſuch a character is always within the poſſibility of being baſe.

No. VII.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Bruſſels, 9th November 1792.

With regard to the Duke's letter to the Empreſs, I know for certain that ſhe has

anſwered him, and that ſhe requires of him to limit the liberty of the preſs, and to ſend away the French Miniſter Verninac.

No. VIII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt,

In addition to a letter of the 25th January 1793.

I have communicated to Aminoff your propoſal. He ſays, in anſwer, that he warmly approves of your plan, but that it is impoſſible to depart ſo ſoon as the month of Auguſt; becauſe he cannot entruſt it to his wife, and induce her to plead ſickneſs, for fear ſhe ſhould be indiſcreet enough to let her ſiſter into the ſecret; that to go away without ſuch a pretext, would make it neceſſary for him to open himſelf to his father-in-law, who would enquire into the reaſons, how the expences were ſupported, &c. Whereas if Aminoff were with his regiment at the review

review in July, and then paſſed a year, with leave, at his father's-in-law in Pomerania, he might get eaſily down to Pyrmont in September, and follow your plan as you have formed it. But, even in this caſe, you muſt furniſh him the means of travelling, which I did not, however, propoſe to him till he objected his pecuniary embarraſſments. He deſires then moſt earneſtly, in order to induce the King to give him the letter for the Empreſs, that you will write to his Majeſty for that purpoſe. Aminoff will undertake to deliver your letter, if I ſhould not be here, and, in the mean time, will write regularly to you. He fears, however, the obſtacle of a war with Ruſſia in the ſpring, thanks to the ſecret negotiations of the Duke with the Turks and Poles againſt Ruſſia; in which caſe his Royal Highneſs may think it right to ſend troops to the frontiers, which is alſo contrary to the laſt treaty of peace.—A courier arrived on Saturday from Peterſburg, which has made the Duke very thoughtful. It is feared that the Duke's conduct may force Ruſſia to extremities,

mities, and that he will make war, declaring himſelf attacked. The Finland Colonels have received their orders to join; and for this reaſon, Aminoff, who is not unknown to the Empreſs, wiſhes you to conſider what he ſays: he proteſts before God, that he is ready to ſacrifice his laſt drop for the King.

I have juſt learnt that Aminoff will not be allowed to be abſent from Finland. If, therefore, his plan ſhould fail, I would propoſe another, but you muſt not ſuſpect me of a deſire to loſe time; on the contrary, I wiſh to ſerve the King in a marked way. My idea is, to go from hence with Madame Divoff, and, having met you at Hamburg, to go on to Warſaw, where I ſhould ſee Toll, and from thence to Peterſburg, where I might ſettle ſome points with the Empreſs, and get back to you about January. You will judge of this expedient, as offered for want of a better. I have had no opportunity of giving the King the paper; you know what I mean. I cannot explain why,

but

but for ſome days paſt he ſeems to avoid me. However, I will not deſiſt; for I am convinced of my deſire to ſerve him.

No. IX.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 6th Feb. 1793.

I am ſtill unable to give you any good news of the letter, but I beg you not to lay the blame on me. I do all I can to meet your wiſhes, but in vain. - - - -

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No. X.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 12th Feb. 1793.

I have at laſt found means to tell the King, that I had a paper to deliver to him. His

His anſwer nearly brought me to the ground. *Am I allowed*, ſaid he, *to ſhew the paper to Count Gyllenſtolpe? No, Sire*, I anſwered, *I ſhould wiſh no one to ſee it. In that caſe*, continued the King; *I dare not receive it.—Your Majeſty*, I replied, *is without doubt maſter to do what he likes beſt; but your anſwer, Sire, marks a diſtruſt which mortifies and diſtreſſes me, and which Baron Armfelt has certainly no reaſon to expect.*

At theſe words the King bluſhed exceedingly, but ſaid nothing in reply. This proves clearly, that means have been found to make him indifferent about us, and that we can reckon no more on Gyllenſtolpe, who has ſecured the confidence of the King at our expence. Pray ſend me your opinion on this event. As for me, I own to you, a thunder-ſtroke would have diſmayed me leſs; for if the King is not entirely on our ſide, and with unlimited confidence, it will be impoſſible to ſucceed in any thing. I have good reaſon for ſaying Count Gyllenſtolpe is not one of your friends; we ſhall

riſk

riſk too much if we admit him to our ſecrets; he would betray us, were it only from weakneſs.

No. XI.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 26th Feb. 1793.

What I have already written of the King's anſwer, when I wiſhed to preſent the paper, will have prepared you for the bad news I have now to communicate, and will prove to you alſo, that the cabal has ſucceeded in ſouring the King againſt the faithful ſervants of Guſtavus III. Count Stackelberg complains of being treated coldly; Baron Taube complains alſo. This diſtreſſes me the more, as I loſe thereby all hope of perſuading the King to write to the Empreſs. I know beſides that I have been held out to the King as a perſon loſt to good conduct ever ſince my

my long connection with a married man. You ſee that vexations are my lot.

No. XII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 1ſt March 1793.

I have had a converſation with Count Gyllenſtolpe on the ſubject of the King, and of the change I think perceivable in his ſentiments. The Count told me he obſerved it alſo, and that it aroſe from the means the Duke and his party employed to ſecure the King's confidence, which he however thought went more to flatter the King's pride than to change his ſentiments. The Count added that, after having for ſome time paſt remarked in ſilence the ſingularities of this young Prince, he had at laſt begged him to explain himſelf; but that the King in ſome degree denied there was any change, and further

further had recourſe to frivolous excuſes. I have ſince learned, that Baron Bonde is very well with the King. Count Stackelberg has told me, that, if the King has changed his way of thinking, it will be impoſſible for Ruſſia to meddle. I write all this, that you may provide againſt it as well as you can.

No. XIII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 5th March 1793.

The Duke was ſcarcely ſet off on Sunday for Upſal, when a courier arrived from Peterſburg. He demands a clear anſwer as to the Duke's intentions of taking part in the war, or of remaining neuter; adding, that in the laſt caſe the Allied Powers would look on him as their enemy, as they could not deſiſt from their purpoſe of chaſtiſing a rebellious

rebellious people. I preſume that this declaration will make the Government reflect a little.

No. XIV.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 8th March 1793.

All the meaſures which you have taken with ſo much prudence have failed, and wholly by the enmity of others. Without enmity, and the pains taken to prejudice the King againſt us, we ſhould now be in poſſeſſion of the letter which you wiſhed the King to write, and our anxieties would be at an end. It is yet poſſible that Baron Taube may ſucceed in obtaining it, if you apply to him. A man may determine the matter more eaſily, and inſpire the neceſſary courage. I am ſo uneaſy ſince my own fruitleſs efforts, that I ſhould be glad to know

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we ſucceed, coſt what it may. I underſtand that Aminoff has ſecretly ſent a diſpatch to the Empreſs, but I did not get this from Stackelberg—proof certain that he is not ſincere towards me; nor has he mentioned his diſpatches in any way. I received this intelligence from St. Prieſt.

Our friend Zibet has received repeated orders to depart. I am aſked, if I am not ſorry that the Regency thus ſeparates me from my friends; and I anſwer, No; that on the contrary each new folly was a triumph for the friends of Guſtavus III.; and in truth nothing does more honour to the laſt Government, for all muſt be judged of comparatively.

No. XV.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 12th March 1793.

While the Court was at Upſal, the ſtu-

dents made up a little inſurrection, which has been honoured with much attention. The gentlemen actually ſent a deputation, to declare that they would keep quiet as long as the Royal Family was in the town : and on the day of departure a new deputation came to offer their reſpects to the Regent, who had the inconceivable indulgence of ſinking himſelf to receive the ambaſſadors of ſome dozen of blockheads, who, if they had been puniſhed as they ought, might have been kept within reſpectful bounds, and ſpared the Government this new proof of weakneſs. It is ſaid that Baron Reuterholm wiſhed to get the appointment of Chancellor of the Univerſity of Abo, but Wachtmeiſter has been preferred. How charming if their ambition and envy ſhould make them quarrel! It is not after all a place for men of character, if it be true, as is reported, that your diſgrace was no ſooner known than the members petitioned for another Chancellor, as if the boobies with an ignorant chief could make the ſciences of eaſier acquiſition.

No. XVI.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 15th March 1793.

Count Gyllenſtolpe called on me yeſterday with the contents of your letter to Roſenſtein, and in fact to beg I would try at a converſation with the King, for the purpoſe of bringing him back to his former way of thinking; for Gyllenſtolpe is exceedingly hurt with the change and the coolneſs the King ſhews him. I let him ſee that I remarked it all, but that I feared the King had been ſo cruelly miſled in his judgment of me, that any converſation of mine would be without effect. I took the opportunity to make the Count feel, but in a delicate way, his unpardonable weakneſs in having on ſeveral occaſions left the King alone with perſons, who he knew would endeavour to inſtil ſentiments contrary to ours—he who ought never to have permitted the King to be out of his preſence!

No. XVII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 19th March 1793.

I called the other day on Count Stackelberg, who aſked me if the King had ſaid nothing about you, as it was of conſequence to him to know your poſition with reſpect to the King, and if you were ſure of the King's approbation of all you might undertake. To this I anſwered from myſelf, that I had talked of it to the King, who had told me he had promiſed you, when you went away, that he would regulate his conduct by your counſel and views, and that he would never forſake them. I hope I did well in anſwering ſo ſatisfactorily, if it is true, after all, that Stackelberg was ordered by his Court to make this enquiry.

No. XVIII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 22d March 1793.

I have run over your remarks in cypher, and diſcovered your intention. The idea is good, and the execution poſſible; but I confeſs I do not think we ſhall attain our purpoſe. All here is from bad to worſe, and I know of no eaſy remedy. What you now propoſe is too mild to be efficacious; for the Duke at preſent does nothing of himſelf: it all goes through Reuterholm, Sparre, Roſenſtein, and Engſtrom. A letter from the Empreſs would be ſhewn them immediately, and conſequently would produce nothing. However, as in buſineſs of this ſort we ſhould avoid the reproach of neglect of any kind, in order to ſave extremities I will conſult Ehrenſtrom, who ſees pretty well how things are in our poor country.

No. XIX.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 26th March 1793.

It appears that the progreſs of the Allied Armies makes the cannibals keep a little within themſelves. At this place the friends of the latter have long faces at each piece of news that arrives, and they really begin to loſe courage. Adieu the three millions of rix-dollars which Stael and Verninac ſo generouſly promiſed! Baron Taube has informed me, that the firſt-named gentleman is arrived in Paris. I would give my laſt halfpenny, if he had already announced to the Convention, that the Duke acknowledged the Republic; for its misfortunes, and apparently its ruin, would oblige the Duke to recall that declaration with double ſhame. You ſee, the perſecuted admirers of Guſtavus III. have ſome pleaſing moments. The gentlemen of the Regency do all they can

to

to avenge us on themſelves, and with more diſpatch than we could have expected, even if we had doubled the doſe of human folly. The Duke did not believe that the Empreſs would call Count Stackelberg to her council. The conſternation here has been evident; and the Duke having made Stackelberg his implacable enemy has miſſed his aim, as he may now be more hurtful than ever. Do not you think that, to hide our play the better, I ſhould take this occaſion to appear without any connection with the Ruſſian miſſion? Tell me if my idea is a good one. We ſhall be leſs obſerved, and our real communication will go on the better for it. The intrigue with Stackelberg has ſucceeded perfectly; he is in the firm perſuaſion that he owes his recall to the contrivances of the Duke and the Ruſſian Madame Divoff, and believes that Madame Divoff wiſhed her huſband to be his ſucceſſor.

No. XX.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 29*th March* 1793.

The Duke is very uneaſy at having carried matters ſo far with Stael, who has received orders to wait the iſſue of the French affairs at Hamburg, and if they ſhould turn well for the Convention, in that caſe to haſten to Paris. In obedience to this mean ſpirit, Stael no ſooner heard of the taking of Breda, than, thinking the victory ſure for the French, he flew to Paris, where he was ſcarcely arrived when the French were well drubbed on all ſides. I hope now, as the Duke has embarked in ſo bad a buſineſs, that he will be obliged to retract, which will be a new triumph for us. In this way his R. H is making himſelf the horror of every nation.

No. XXI.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 9th April 1793.

Mineur tells me that Nordin, governor of Dalecarlia, has changed ſides, and that, led by the Duke, he is become one of his partiſans. What baſeneſs, if true! He has at any rate choſen a very bad moment; for the diſcontent againſt the Duke increaſes to a moſt alarming degree. It is even ſaid, that he is diſpleaſed with the Nobleſſe; in ſhort, I believe the moment come for effecting what you mention in your cyphered remarks. I ruminate ſo much on theſe things, and on many others, that it does not contribute a little to increaſe my fever.

No. XXII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 12th April 1793.

I aſſure you I endeavour to acquit myſelf of your commiſſions as expeditiouſly as poſſible, and you ſhall have a very circumſtantial account as ſoon as I am able to write a long letter in cypher. I have done what you recommended in your letter of the 22d February, and I hope you will be ſatisfied with the meaſures I have taken; but pray ſend me the continuation you promiſed, for it is abſolutely neceſſary that this affair ſhould be complete and clear. From the meaſures you have taken I think we ſhall ſucceed. In two months more the Duke will be in a moſt diſtreſſing want of money, which will facilitate our plan of gaining him with money. I muſt, however, propoſe a trifling alteration: it is, that the Empreſs, inſtead of writing to the Duke, ſhould ſend a ſecret

a ſecret agent, a perſon already known as a Free-maſon of a high degree. Such a man would eaſily ſucceed. As to a letter, the Duke would ſhew it to Reuterholm, and all would be ſpoilt. It appears therefore neceſſary, in the ſuppoſition of his giving into the ſnare, as I make no doubt he will, that the attempt ſhould be made during the King's journey in the ſummer.

The Duke will then be ſeparated from his Miniſters, who, if things go right, will be diſmiſſed before he returns. If he ſees them, all is loſt, and nothing will be done. In ſhort, though you accuſe me in your letter to the poltroon No. 1. (Ehrenſtrom) of falling ſometimes into fits of vehemence, which might be miſchievous to us all, I am not without hope of regaining the confidence of our timid friend, who otherwiſe will inform me of nothing. He is now in town, and called on me yeſterday after dinner to make obſervations on your project, which we found excellent, and ſeemingly infallible.

No. XXIII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 16*th April* 1793

I ſend you a ſecond letter received from one of our friends whom I will not name, but whoſe hand-writing you will eaſily recollect. I fear Admiral Stedingk has filled him with falſe news ; for it is impoſſible that the friends of the late King ſhould be treated with contempt at Peterſburg ; but it may be worth enquiring into.

No. XXIV.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 19*th April* 1793

It is then ſome Secretary of the Chancery, whom the Grand Chancellor had charged

to

to treat you in ſo inexcuſable a manner.—I will ſucceed in diſcovering the worthleſs being, though I ſhould be torn in pieces in the attempt. I will load my memory with ſimilar names, that I may have them ready in proper time and place. The events of the moment ſeem ready to unravel the confuſion in which we find ourſelves.

No. XXV.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 29th April 1793.

I hope I ſhall ſucceed in perſuading Stackelberg to do what you require. But as to Gyllenſtolpe, I ſhould prefer being ſeconded by a letter from you; for he has ſo high an opinion of himſelf, and of his ability in chooſing the beſt means of bringing the King to our party, that all I can ſay to him will be in vain. Notwithſtanding this, be aſſured

aſſured I neglect nothing which I imagine you deſire ſhould be done. But where do you think I could find a man ſkilful and prudent? We have none ſuch here. God grant me ſucceſs at preſent in obtaining the letter for the Empreſs! I ſwear to you that I will do my beſt to make amends for my paſt awkwardneſs. Reckon on my zeal, prudence, and perſeverance. Among the King's gentlemen, I know not one, except Baron Munk, in whom I could confide, or who is bold enough, and even he is not clever, nor ſufficiently attentive: the King too is ſo well obſerved by the ſpies of the Duke, that the ——— are the only perſons who can ſpeak to him without attracting notice. Pray tell me if you have ſent your plan to the Empreſs. I am as active as poſſible in it, for I believe it to be the beſt we have fallen upon. But Stackelberg heſitates, and, I believe, would prefer violent meaſures, that he might ſatisfy his private hatred of the Duke. Stackelberg has promiſed me to uſe his intereſt at Peterſburg, that the Empreſs might give Ehrenſtrom

6,000 rix-dollars; we ſhall ſee if he keep his word.

No. XXVI.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 13th May 1793.

You will have ſeen by my converſation with Stackelberg, in my cyphered letter, what difficulties he thinks are in his way as to our plan. He has ſo good an idea of his own addreſs, that it is impoſſible for him to adopt the ideas of another; and he ſtill maintains that the Duke would receive the money from the Empreſs, but would nevertheleſs deceive her. This is his reaſon for believing we ſhould wait two years longer, as the Empreſs would then ſupport the revolution which the King himſelf would begin; eſpecially as ſhe then might require from the King, who would be ſcarcely firm

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on his throne, any conditions ſhe pleaſed. It is clear that Stackelberg aims at this, when he rejects your plan. He would ſillily perſuade me, the Empreſs thinks ſo highly of his perſon, that the Duke would never have been able to get that ſovereign to recall him, if the Duke himſelf had not begun by promiſing more important ſacrifices, and engaged to bring the King to Peterſburg. I believe nothing of this. All I could obtain from our converſation was a poſitive promiſe from Stackelberg to ſpeak to the King in the manner you deſire. In the mean time it is true that our preſent poſition needs ſpeedy ſupport, that the King, when he aſcends the throne, may not be in the miſerable ſtate of dependance which coſt his father his life.

No. XXVII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Poſtſcript to a letter of the 17th May 1793.

Count Gyllenſtolpe has juſt left me, with the information that neither Reuterholm nor any of the Duke's favourites will accompany the King on his journey in July. If, therefore, you write to Peterſburg, in order to be certain as to the Empreſs's acceptance or refuſal of your project to win over the Duke by money, it will be neceſſary to profit of the favourable opportunity of the Duke's ſeparation from his counſellors. I will do my beſt to prevail on Stackelberg to work to the ſame end with the Empreſs; but this man thinks only of his private animoſity againſt the Duke, and of violent meaſures, which would ſpoil all; for if ever his Royal Highneſs ſhould ſucceed in forming adherents, it will be when he is perſonally attacked. It would be uſe-

ful if I could find a way of reminding directly the Empreſs, by letter, of the neceſſity of not neglecting this opportunity. I would do it merely to gain time, or becauſe Stackelberg thinks only of his own revenge. I have ſpoken to Baron Taube reſpecting this letter of the King to the Empreſs, but he has not yet promiſed me his aſſiſtance without full deliberation. As long as he does not give me a negative anſwer, I ſhall continue to importune him; but, I muſt not conceal it, I abſolutely deſpair of ſucceeding with the King. Gyllenſtolpe aſſures me, that the Duke ſo loads the King with teſtimonies of friendſhip, that when he, Gyllenſtolpe, endeavours to make the King diſtruſt them, he gets peeviſh and contradicts; and when the Governor goes farther, and, to irritate the King againſt the Duke, reckons up the inſtances in which the Duke has been wanting in attentions to his Majeſty, which is exactly attacking the King's weak ſide, that then he abſolutely denies the fact, or finds ſome weak excuſe in favour of his uncle. This is word for word what Gyllenſtolpe

told me. I alſo founded him on the head of a change of miniſtry, to be effected by us through Ruſſia, either with force or with money; and he did not heſitate in preferring the more gentle means; he thinks that the Empreſs ſhould begin by Reuterholm, whoſe honeſty gradually gives way, and who receives preſents from all that offer. I did not at all agree with him, but convinced him that if Reuterholm was kept in the miniſtry, the alteration in affairs would not laſt two days; but that, on the other hand, if Reuterholm were diſgraced, the others would ſoon follow. Gyllenſtolpe preſumes, that the Duke, when he goes to Scania, will take the King to Copenhagen to let him ſee the Princeſs of Heſſe. It is true the King has ſhewn a fixed determination not to make any promiſe or engagement, and I hope he will keep his word; but Gyllenſtolpe does not truſt to it in this caſe. I know, from a good ſource, that Baron Bonde, having aſked to be ſent to Copenhagen to compliment that Court on the arrival of the King at the frontiers, received a negative anſwer;

and that the Duke added, the commiſſion would be beneath him, and that a ſtable groom was good enough to be ſent to ſo miſerable a Court. I had nothing better on my hands than to inform Reventlow, the Daniſh miniſter, of this circumſtance. He happens to be going away, and will take the anecdote in his heart: my hopes are, that the two Courts will cool upon it. Hitherto I have heard nothing of a Diet, but I think it probable that the Duke has given the Empreſs ſome promiſe on the ſubject, as an inducement to her recalling Stackelberg. That Ambaſſador tells me, he hears from home, that, on his arrival, he will be convinced the reaſons for his recall were ſuch as the Empreſs could not but liſten to; and he has promiſed to ſend me a courier as ſoon as he has looked about him, under the pretext of having a perſon here to direct the removal of his effects. I will inform you of this if it happen, and alſo of any hint of a Diet, and of your commiſſions reſpecting the three orders. As to the order of the peaſantry, I will give your opinion to

Bureen

Bureen Wallquiſt Nordin Hokanſon, but I may venture to aſſure you that the party of the Duke will be exceedingly weak; he is generally hated. We have only to guard againſt Ruſſia coming forward too publicly in our affairs, for in that caſe the Duke's party would be ſtrong, the fate of Poland having forcibly impreſſed all thinking minds. —I ſtill think your laſt plan excellent; it is the only one that does not commit the independence, which the genius of the great Guſtavus procured us. Mineur has conſulted me on the ſubject of your letter to the Dalecarlians. My firſt idea was to ſend it myſelf in a feigned hand, and to addreſs it to the man who wrote to you on the King's death; in this way nobody would be committed. If my hand writing ſhould be diſcovered, I ſhall not be much concerned; I know already what to anſwer. Unfortunately we forget the name of this man, but the letter ſhall be ſent ſome how or other. Stackelberg is ſtill here; I ſhall ſup at his hotel to-morrow. Do not be uneaſy on the ſcore of my intimacy with Madam Divoff;

ſhe learns no ſecrets from me; a very ſhort time ſufficed for the diſcovery of her very artful character.

No. XXVIII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 21ſt May 1793.

Stackelberg begs me to ſay, that he has followed your directions in endeavouring to talk to the King, but that his Majeſty avoided him in a way that was mortifying. This is my caſe alſo, ſo that I am not yet certain if he has received the letter you ſent him from Venice. Gyllenſtolpe pretends that he has, but I cannot rely upon it.

No. XXIX.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 24th May 1793.

Yeſterday Stackelberg had his audience of leave, and he is much hurt that the King ſaid

ſaid only a few words. Gyllenſtolpe owns his fears that they have ſucceeded in making the King diſtruſt the Empreſs, by repreſenting to him the ſtate of Poland, and the poſſibility of ſimilar ſcenes here. It muſt be owned the conſideration is an alarming one. —Baron Taube has juſt informed me, that he cannot make the application to the King which you require; and, remarking the danger of ſuch a ſtep, added, that he did not even wiſh it were practicable. I ſuppoſe he has talked of it to Gyllenſtolpe, which is the occaſion of the Governor's late viſits to me, to lead me on to a determination of ſpeaking to the King myſelf; but I cannot do it, not having your permiſſion. But I think that if you wrote to Gyllenſtolpe, encloſing a ſealed letter for the King, I could take upon me to give the packet to the Governor in the King's preſence; for otherwiſe, fearful and uncertain as he is, it will be impoſſible to make him active; and Baron Taube's refuſal convinces me that nothing more is to be done with any of the ſet.

No. XXX.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 28th May 1793.

I anſwer in cypher to thy queſtions. 1. I have done all I can to propagate in the provinces the ideas and principles you laid down in your letters prior to thoſe of 19th and 23d April, which you deſired me to entruſt to Ehrenſtrom, and which he this day returned.—2. I have made Stackelberg feel (and he was the only channel of communication with Ruſſia) the neceſſity of your preſence in Sweden; and the more eaſily becauſe he agrees with me, that we have no one of ſufficient genius, practice, or courage, for the conducting of the machine, eſpecially if a Diet ſhould be aſſembled. Baron Armfelt, added the Ambaſſador, has the Dalecarlians on his ſide, as I know. —Now, as we are to correſpond without cypher through the Ruſſian Chargé d'Affaires Nottbeck, ſo that our letters will be ſeen by the Ruſſian miniſtry, I will, if you

approve

approve of it, remind Stackelberg of all theſe circumſtances.—3. As to the King, I have endeavoured to make him ſenſible, as alſo Taube and Gyllenſtolpe, that no propoſal of marriage ſhould be liſtened to, except one with a Princeſs of Ruſſia —I ſend thee a letter which I received from Ehrenſtrom. I have ſaid in anſwer, that his project of preſenting a memorial to the King was a good one; but that if he wiſhed it to be received, it muſt be ſhewn to his Governor: in the laſt converſation I had with Gyllenſtolpe, he told me the King had promiſed him to receive nothing, and to promiſe nothing, without his knowledge.—Your letter to the Dalecarlians is ſtill in my hands; Mineur has promiſed me the name of the perſon who is to take charge of it.

No. XXXI.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 4th June 1793.

All that I might ſay in my defence would be uſeleſs, for your opinion is fixed; and you

you are pleaſed to ſee me in the wrong, apparently, as a foil to the merits of others. This is not the firſt time, and in that reſpect you have always been unjuſt towards me; but as my complaints only ſerve to irritate you, I will be ſilent. I confeſs, however, that whenever I find you are diſſatisfied with my zeal to act as you deſire, I repent that I have ever had any connection with you, except in our mutual love. How happens it, that when a ſcheme fails, you impute the blame to me, without conſidering that every thing is againſt me in the execution? that thoſe who ought to ſecond me are too daſtardly, or too much occupied with their own intereſts, intereſts exactly contrary to yours? Aſk Ehrenſtrom—he will paint their characters, and tell you that it was he himſelf who adviſed me to make Taube and Stackelberg believe that the plans were his, not yours; judging it to be the only way to induce thoſe gentlemen to adopt them, and that they would have refuſed them had they known you to be the author. You now ſee the difficulties I had to encounter on every

ſide.

ſide. I conjure you do not put my ability again to the proof. I call God to witneſs that I have done my beſt· but I had rather be conſidered in future as of no merit in your eyes, than be looked at under the blackeſt colours.

No. XXXII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 7th June 1793.

I now look upon it as certain, and many other perſons are of the ſame opinion, that a Diet is inevitable. I have begged Ehrenſtrom to call on me, were it only for an hour, in order to determine on the manner of ſpreading among the peaſants the reports which you wiſh to make public. Take your meaſures from what I now tell you. As for me, I ſwear by heaven and earth, that I will fulfil thy orders, and, ſhould I loſe my head, will neglect no means of unravelling their intrigues. In the mean time I ſtrengthen them in the idea, that you are indifferent

indifferent as to your return. I own to you, I ſhould not now be ſorry to ſee you in the ſervice of ſome foreign power, and the ſooner the better; for if you return, keeping your appointment of Miniſter, the firſt thing done will be ſeizing your perſon; or your return may be entirely prevented: but if you come back as attached to the ſervice of ſome foreign power, no one can put a check on your liberty.

No. XXXIII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 12th June 1793.

I have employed the morning in anſwering the different points of your letter, which had remained on hand. However wrong you may think me, I ſhall not retract a word of what I ſaid to you on the ſubject of your departure from hence, which I muſt ever diſapprove of, both as loving you and my country. And now for your commiſſions. I received in October two of your letters,

one

one for the King and one for Hokanſon: both of them were delivered. From that time, I have given Stackelberg to underſtand that your fortune was completely ruined; but he would not quite believe me, and objected, as a folly in you, the augmentation of your expences in ſending for your wife, and the order ſhe had given for a fine ſervice of plate, which were not ſymptoms of a moderate fortune. I anſwered nothing to this, and I have been ſilent on it to you, that you might not think hatred or jealouſy urged me to miſrepreſent her conduct. I have, as you deſired, ſpoken twice to Ehrenſtrom to give me your papers, and he has very ſeriouſly aſſured me that they were burnt. Stackelberg alſo, as you wiſh he ſhould, believes you have the entire confidence of the Dalecarlians; his mind is full of it, and of the neceſſity of your drawing near Sweden. I propoſe writing to him again, to keep up my correſpondence with him, in concert with Ehrenſtrom. In obedience to your wiſhes, Stackelberg alſo ſought an opportunity of telling the King

in a clear manner, that the friendſhip of the Empreſs would be uſeful to him, but the opportunity was not found. I alſo charged Gyllenſtolpe with the taſk of recovering the King's confidence, by mild and eaſy remonſtrances, avoiding all ſort of explanation. I was convinced at the ſame time that my advice was uſeleſs; for he is obſtinate, and good advice hurts him, eſpecially when it comes from a woman. I have ſhewn your great plan in cypher to Stackelberg, who, as I told you, did not pay much attention to it: he aims at violent meaſures, to gratify private animoſity. Baron Taube is acquainted with a part of your plan, not from me, but from Ehrenſtrom, who aſſured me Taube approved; but when I ſpoke to him on the ſame ſubject afterwards, he ſcarcely liſtened to me, and ſaid only, rather abruptly, that the thing would go of itſelf, if we had patience: and Gyllenſtolpe approves, with the alteration before ſuggeſted, of beginning by buying over Reuterholm. As this would alter the whole, I am ſilent when the Governor meets me. You already know why

I have

I have not ſucceeded in getting a letter from the King to the Empreſs.

Where do you ſuppoſe I ſhall find this quick and able man, who, with ſo much addreſs and propriety, is to direct the attention of the King to the great ſcheme of his father on Norway? I defy you to point ſuch a man out. As to the Diet, and the reports to be ſpread among the peaſantry, and your letter to the Dalecarlians, I have ſtill to ſettle thoſe points with Ehrenſtrom and Mineur. You deſired alſo, my angel, that I ſhould make a noiſe about the 12,000 rixdollars you were cheated of when you gave up your regiment; but I am not heard with any attention. I have alſo done as you deſired with reſpect to the poſſible marriage of the King with a Princeſs of Heſſe. Theſe are all the commiſſions I have received from you ſince my return from the country laſt autumn, and my report on the manner of executing them.

No. XXXIV.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 2d July 1793

Ehrenſtrom is ſure that theſe preparatives are for a Diet, and that we are loſt if the Empreſs does not vigorouſly interfere. All is gloomy with him to-day, and he has ſo wrought on my imagination that I ſee as gloomily as himſelf. He writes to you—Anſwer him, and flatter his vanity as much as you can. As to the reports among the peaſantry, he ſays the meaſure is a bad one, and is ſurpriſed you ſhould charge me with it; he is ſure that nobody forgets my ſex. I did not mention to him the letter to the Dalecarlians. Once more, write, and flatter him with an air of circumſpection and foreſight, for he complains of your wanting theſe qualities; and it is of great importance to us to preſerve his friendſhip and confidence, for you will find no perſon ſo capable as he is of letting us know what paſſes.

No. XXXV.

No. XXXV.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 14*th July* 1793.

Our friend Aminoff took leave to-day; and it was time, for he began to be amorous, which embarraſſed and teaſed me. This proves to me that I am not fit for affairs, ſince I very innocently embroil every thing, either by the jealouſy of the women or the fooliſh fancies of the men. If Aminoff had remained here any longer, we ſhould have quarrelled, and our affairs would have ſuffered.

No. XXXVI.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Drottningholm, 10*th Oct.* 1793.

According to your deſire, I have conſulted thoſe who call themſelves your friends, on your return to Sweden, and they all diſapprove of it. They reaſon thus: Why ſhould

Baron Armfelt come to any conditions with his enemies? It is however what would happen, if, to obtain permiſſion to return, he were obliged to promiſe to keep quiet: once returned, he would be neceſſitated to break his engagement, to deceive the public, or his party, which would perhaps take the opportunity of his return to break out—a circumſtance that ought not to take place till the King has reached his ſixteenth year. But, ſuppoſing his party not to ſtir, could Baron Armfelt deſtroy the impreſſion which he will make in ſo critical a moment, if the public are accuſtomed to ſee him, like other men, talking confidentially with the Duke, who would certainly obſerve an attentive conduct towards him before the world? How would he demean himſelf on ſuch occaſions, ſurrounded too as he would be at the ſame time by ſpies, who would report even his ſecret thoughts as tending to excite miſchief?—Then how would you behave as to the King? Would you, to gain his good-will, become the rival of a *De la Gardie* or a *Bonde?* It would be beneath you: and

before

before the King took the reins into his own hands, or at leaſt had the deſire of doing ſo, he would not want your ſervices—indeed, not till the moment of turning the iſſue to his advantage. You muſt not mix with his other favourites; your intereſt requires that you ſhould not even ſhew yourſelf till you are neceſſary, when you may be ſure of the Royal confidence, and of your own power. You would beſides ſtir up the jealouſy and envy even of your own party, who would not like to ſink before your genius, however they may cajole you at a diſtance. When the criſis comes, you may ſeize on power without their perceiving it. I had theſe ideas, my angel, from Schroederheim, who came yeſterday to ſee me by appointment, and to have an explanation on the ſubject of the wrong I believed he had done you, as to the place of Governor of one of the Provinces. He added that he would himſelf write to you to this purpoſe, if he did not wiſh to avoid any poſſible miſconſtruction that might diſturb the confidence now ſubſiſting between you; for, added he, my dear Armfelt ſome-

times truſts blindly to friends who have often betrayed him, and is ſhy of thoſe who are his moſt honeſt counſellors: if I wrote to him, he would ſuſpect me of ſome ſiniſter views.

No. XXXVII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Drottningholm, 18th Oct. 1793

If you do not approve of the morning viſits which are made to me, it will be eaſy for me to keep the door cloſe; but would it not ſavour of affectation, to except merely my political friends, ſuch as Lagerbring, Franc, Ehrenſtrom, and I can't tell whom? As long as I admit the viſits of gentlemen, ſtories will ſpread on my account; but I ſhall have done all I can to avoid them.

No. XXXVIII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Drottningholm, 22d Oct. 1793.

I have given Count Gyllenſtolpe your letter, and I lent him at the ſame time my cypher,

cypher, which he has ſent back. He appeared pleaſed with the precautions you had taken. I have alſo given your note to Forſter, the keeper of the Opera Coffee-houſe.

No. XXXIX.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 1ſt Nov. 1793.

I have fulfilled your commiſſion reſpecting the King, who bluſhed to the white of his eyes; but he ſaid nothing—which ſurpriſed me. I mentioned it to Gyllenſtolpe, who ſaid he had not yet given the letter to the King. His Majeſty left Drottningholm with regret, and aſked me if I was not ſorry on the ſame account. I anſwered, I was ſorry only that I ſhould not now be able to ſee him every day. He looked at me with an air of ſatisfaction, which makes me think my compliment gave him ſpecial pleaſure.

No. XL.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt,

22*d Nov.* 1793.

Lagerbring has juſt left me. He begs me to ſay that it is time you ſhould think of leaving Italy, and of approaching Sweden, but to ſtop in Germany. His reaſoning is as follows: He ſuppoſes it certain that you will loſe your place, either directly or when circumſtances may neceſſarily bring you to Stockholm; and then, if our plans fail, how will you ſave your fortune? For, if the oppoſite party prevail, you will not be in the eyes of foreign Powers ſo important a perſonage as to induce them to give you the ſame brilliant advantages, which they would think neceſſary while matters went well. He thinks therefore, that if you give your enemies time, you will be ſtripped of every thing; and that you ſhould make a ſtand now, when all Europe would ſee they were wrong. This would facilitate your return, which I really believe will ſoon be neceſſary,

No. XLI.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 26th Nov. 1793.

I have again ſeen Lagerbring; and what he ſays makes me beg of you to come home, I mean, to come near Sweden. Endeavour to get rid of your poſt in ſuch a way as may put Government in the wrong, and to be free to act in the neighbourhood, not later than the month of April or May. But do not come here till the moment the revolution is ready. It cannot be long delayed, and will require no aſſiſtance—to ſuch a pitch are men's minds mounted. But you muſt meet it with ſenſe and courage; for the Jacobins may ſtep in for their own ends, and ſpread ruin in every direction, unleſs they ſhould be headed by ſuch a one as yourſelf, of whoſe character they have a high opinion, who might ſo uſe his authority as to turn their enthuſiaſm in favour of the King, and from their own miſchievous principles, which the greater number have not

adopted but becauſe the Duke has irritated them by taking away the places given them by the late King to ſecure their attachment. It is only to me that Lagerbring has thus opened himſelf, for he truſts neither the weakneſs of Gyllenſtolpe nor the egotiſm of Taube. I ſolemnly beg of you to ſpeak of it to no one. the fewer there are in the ſecret, the greater will be our ſafety. But he does not wiſh you ſhould come back before events are ready to break out; for the Duke might proceed to extremities, and prevent your appearance, or even put you in ſome priſon.

No. XLII.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 29th Nov. 1793.

The new ambaſſador (Count Romanzow) and myſelf continue on the ſame diſtant footing. I met him yeſterday at Gyllenſtolpe's aſſembly, where he ſpoke to the next perſon without noticing me. There is no harm

harm in this, but I thought it odd and uncivil. I had another odd adventure at the ſame aſſembly, which was numerous. Nottbeck came to preſent me M. Adaduroff, juſt arrived from Peterſburg. He brought with him a letter for me from Stackelberg. Every look was upon me, and I was ſilly enough to redden to the white of my eyes. In ſhort, I was ſo embarraſſed that I had nothing to ſay to Adaduroff, who muſt have thought me awkward enough. Stackelberg wiſhes to know if Engſtrom at London is charged with the negotiation of a marriage with an Engliſh Princeſs, and if I think the King inclined to ſuch a match. I preſume I may tell him what I think; it might give me weight with the Empreſs, who, I hope, will ſee my letter. I muſt not look to Ehrenſtrom for any help in this buſineſs: he told me lately that he would not liſten when there was nothing to be heard.

No. XLIII.

M. Ehrenſtrom to Baron Armfelt.

Diurnas, 23d January 1793.

I beg you not to take it amiſs that I have kept the late King's letters to you ſo long in my poſſeſſion. I did not know how to convey them to you. They are beſides ſafely depoſited with my papers in the Caſtle at Waxholm.

What are we to think of a Government that begins by granting the liberty of the preſs, at a moment when other Powers are obliged to limit it? I enjoyed during the war, and by the ſpecial favour of the late King, my adorable benefactor, it was continued to me in peace, a revenue of ſomething more than 900 rixdollars. I am now reduced to a penſion of 300. My little bit of land yields 200 more, after the intereſt of my debt is paid. The whole is 500 rixdollars. I do not reckon on the 400 you know of, and which I owe to your friend-

ſhip; for it appears that Gyllenſtolpe is not too diſpoſed to keep his promiſe.

No. XLIV.

Poſtſcript to the preceding Letter.

The Empreſs is rich enough to grant a ſmall penſion of 7 or 800 rixdollars to him who had the honour of counterſigning the treaty of Werela, and who without ſuch aſſiſtance would now be reduced to want, for remaining faithful to the memory of his King and benefactor. I would not accept this penſion without the King's leave, nor keep it beyond his majority. Baron Taube ſhould ſpeak of it to the King, and the ambaſſador not ſpeak of it to any one. Even Gyllenſtolpe ſhould not know it, for he is entirely in the hands of his ſon-in-law: you alone can ſucceed for me.

No. XLV.

M. Ehrenſtrom to Baron Armfelt.

In addition to a letter of the 17th Feb. 1793.

My cyphered note will convince you that I am

I am not ſo idle as you imagine. I will only add here, that it is neceſſary we ſhould have a zealous man on the ſpot, eſpecially at a time when all who were attached to the late King are ſent away. I have ſpoken to Weſtman, who is worth ſomething. I have alſo ſecured the peaſants in this diſtrict, where I might be very uſeful if I had money. Pray get over this obſtacle for me in the way I have mentioned. It is not likely that a revolution of any ſort will take place this year, which is one of my reaſons for not going away ſo ſoon. The beſt change that could happen would be that I hinted in my letter to Aminoff, and which came firſt from you. But we have to ſtruggle with the indeciſion, the alarms, and the ſelfiſhneſs of ſo many. We muſt in the mean time be on our guard, and take advantage of what happens. Count Ruuth is incenſed, it is true, but I would not truſt him with a ſcheme of this ſort. The great thing for me is not to die of hunger. I ſhould hope that at Vienna you may begin this negotiation by the means of Roſaumoſsky. I own

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the difficulty, but the neceſſity is indiſpenſable, and my motives excuſe it.

No. XLVI.

Copy of a Letter to J. Fr. Aminoff, communicated to Count Stackelberg.

I learn that you are on the point of quitting the capital, as many of the late King's friends have already done. Your crime, mine, and that of our friends, is our not having ſhared in the aſſaſſination of our King. The perſecutions we undergo, the low vengeance of which we are the object, the calumnies ſpread on our account, cannot but do us honour in the eyes of Europe, and particularly of that good people who never pronounce the name of Guſtavus III. without veneration and emotion. As to our private intereſts, the conduct of our enemies is of the greateſt utility, and we ſhould not forget that it is ſo. But an object of greater conſequence, which ſhould fix our attention, is the preſervation of our young King, and of the

the political arrangements of Guſtavus III.—that is to ſay, of the Conſtitution which he gave Sweden, and without which Royal authority amongſt us would be a miſchievous ſhadow, as it was under Frederic I. and his ſucceſſor, when the country was rent by foreign factions, and all directed againſt the throne.

The ſtate of the kingdom muſt excite in us the moſt anxious ſolicitude in all reſpects; and it cannot be diſputed that, if the preſent courſe of affairs is not changed, we ſhall ſoon be on the brink of ruin. On one ſide the Jacobins employ all poſſible means and activity to undermine the throne, and to prepare for a general inſurrection, which however, I think, can take place only in ſome of our towns, the people of the country not being ſufficiently prepared for a revolution of ſuch extent. On the other hand the Regency, conducted by the enthuſiaſm of the Chancellor of the Court, Engſtrom, does every thing to effect a total change of our political ſyſtem with regard

to

to foreign Powers. I know from very good authority, that the Regency, ſhackled by the treaty of Drottningholm, and fearing the energy of the Empreſs, is determined to break with Ruſſia, and to throw itſelf into a quadruple alliance with France, the Turks, and the mal-contents in Poland. I was one of the firſt to diſcover this ſingular circumſtance, but the friends to whom I have mentioned it will not believe me. I fear, however, that we ſhall ſoon ſee the opening of this project, ſo worthy in all reſpects of its author. To this plan of foreign politics is tacked another for our internal government, equally pernicious to the King, to the State, and to all their friends. It is that of changing the Conſtitution, and of re-eſtabliſhing the Senate and Ariſtocracy; a ſyſtem, which, as we all know, could not laſt long in the preſent fermentation of men's minds, and which would bear us off to popular phrenſy and to French democracy: add to this the ſcheme of prolonging the King's minority, and of augmenting the prerogatives of his Tutor, that he might ſtill be conſidered as

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the moſt important perſonage in the kingdom, even after the coronation of his nephew; and with all this we muſt not forget the haſtening of the intended marriage of the King with the daughter of Prince Charles of Heſſe. Agree with me, my friend, we are undone if all this take place, and that it is our duty to ſtrike at the root of the evil before it begins to flouriſh.—If the allied powers had followed the advice of the King of Sweden and of the Empreſs, and taken vigorous meaſures againſt France in the beginning of the troubles, Louis XVI. would never have died on the ſcaffold, nor Jacobiniſm have riſen to maturity. The only mode of acting on ſuch occaſions is the rapid one with which the Empreſs has effected her meaſures in Poland. Our ſituation is that of the Poliſh Republic, and none but the Empreſs can ſave us, but not in the ſame manner.

Endeavour to ſee the Ambaſſador before your departure, and tell him, in the name of all who are attached to the King, and

who conſtitute the force of the nation, that nothing could unite us more with Ruſſia, or fix our adoration for the Empreſs, than the ſignal ſervice ſhe would render us, in delivering us, while the opportunity is good, from a weak and culpable Government, that, unfortunately and ſhameſully for the north of Europe, roſe immediately after the death of the great man who was worthy the eſteem and friendſhip of Catherine II.

I keep firm to the plan I have already mentioned to you, as the only feaſible one, that of beginning by declaring the King's minority at an end, and giving him the Council named by the late King his father. This will be beſt underſtood by the nation; it is ſimple, and eaſy of execution; and all that Ruſſia need require would then be, to order the Ambaſſador to ſupport the revolution by a declaration of the Empreſs, approving and avowing what had been done.

The complaints againſt the preſent Government which would then be publiſhed

are but too numerous ; and they will be more ſo, if it be true that the States are to be aſſembled, which is directly contrary to the will of the late King.

Shew the Ambaſſador alſo the nature of our reſources ; and aſſure him from me, that, animated with the deſire of being uſeful to the King, the ſon of my benefactor, and to my country, I am ready to undertake whatever may contribute thereto.

No. XLVII.

M. Ehrenſtrom to Baron Armfelt.

Diurnas, 15th March 1793

I do not know how you will underſtand the communication Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold has made me of your memorable remarks of the 22d February, containing your ideas on a revolution in Sweden ; but I aſſure you that they have afforded me the greateſt ſatisfaction, and that I adopt them with my heart and ſoul. I have expreſſed the ſame approbation

approbation to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold, and begged her to follow your orders with all the care ſhe is miſtreſs of. One of the four papers incloſed in my letter to Vienna, will have given you my ideas on the ſame ſubject. They do not advert to the expedient, which I own had ſcarcely occurred to me, of bringing over the Duke by the means of money. But this difference in the choice of our means ought not to ſtop our career. All roads lead to Rome. We have only to chooſe the ſureſt way of arriving at the happieſt iſſue. A principal point will be the reeſtabliſhment of the Council, ſuch as it was at the death of the King, and to clear the Government of Jacobins; the reſt will go on of itſelf, and the country will be ſaved from ruin.

You have had the goodneſs to tell me, that, being in correſpondence with the Empreſs, you could bring about the affair of my penſion, and you wiſh me to get Baron Taube to ſpeak of it to the King, that no bad impreſſion may exiſt againſt me in

future. I am ſenſible of the propriety of this remark; but I beg you to conſider how important it is that the propoſal ſhould come from the Empreſs; and when once the Ambaſſador has made known to me the gracious intentions of the Empreſs, it will be eaſy to ſpeak of it to Baron Taube, without the appearance of my having begged the favour, however my reduced finances may juſtify it. To the conſideration of the perſonal utility which I ſhould find in the ſucceſs of this buſineſs, I add the more important one of my being infinitely more uſeful than I am at preſent in our common cauſe. Think of this, my General.

No. XLVIII.

M. Ehrenſtrom to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

I have juſt learnt a piece of news of the greateſt conſequence: it is, that Papa Stackelberg is recalled, though in your letter of the 15th you ſay poſitively that you are certain of the contrary. I wait with the greateſt impatience

impatience for news from our friend: I fear that my laſt packet will not have found him at Vienna, and that Nolken will have received orders to ſeize the papers which may arrive there for him after his departure.

No. XLIX.

M. Ehrenſtrom to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 12th April 1793.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold and myſelf have talked over fully the contents of your cyphered letter, &c. and we ſhall endeavour to find the beſt means of anſwering the end you propoſe. She will herſelf write to you by this poſt.

No. L.

M. Ehrenſtrom to Baron Armfelt.

Diurnas, 27th April 1793.

Before I anſwer your poſtſcript, I ſhould notice the charming letter which accom-

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panied it. The firſt lines ſhew that you are already well informed of the happy and glorious ſucceſs of the allied armies againſt France. If Guſtavus III. had lived, he would have taken a ſhare in thoſe efforts for the reſtoration of tranquillity in France, and he would alſo undoubtedly have had his ſhare of the indemnification. Nothing prevents us from believing that Norway would have been abandoned to him—precious conqueſt, which would have paid the debts of this kingdom, and put the country in a reſpectable ſtate!

Poſtſcript. The memorial to the Empreſs is excellent, and I am much obliged to you for the communication. I beg you to believe, that, agreeing with you on the principal point, our ſentiments cannot change as to the manner and means of execution. If we arrive at our end, a turn more or leſs about will ſignify nothing. I ſhall follow your advice exactly. I continue to believe the poſſibility of declaring the King of age; that is to ſay, with the ſupport of Ruſſia; but

but the expedient you propoſe is perhaps better · I will detail to you ſome other time my opinion upon it. In any event our two plans are on the ſame principles, of which the chief is, that the King be admitted to the Council, and that the Jacobins be driven out. The ſhorteſt way would be that you ſuggeſt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold, to win over the Duke with a ſum of money. It is but too true that a coolneſs is obſervable between the King and Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold, which has prevented her from executing the important commiſſion you put into her hands. I ſhall deliberate further with her as to the means yet remaining. As for your circular letter to the Dalecarlians, it might undoubtedly be uſeful ; but it might alſo be dangerous and fatal to you, by giving your enemies the handle of a proſecution, for having endeavoured to ſtir up the people. Circumſtances appear to require that you ſhould keep quiet ſome time longer, at leaſt as to internal affairs. I preſume that the perſon you ſend to Peterſburg is your private Secretary, of whom I have heard hand-

ſome mention. I ſhall be very glad to be perſonally acquainted with him, if it could be done without drawing attention. Count Gyllenſtolpe has written me a very fine confidential letter, with 200 rixdollars, that is, of my penſion for two years. This ſtep, haſtened by Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold, who wiſhed to feel his pulſe, ſeems to indicate that he has not yet changed his ſentiments as to us. The inſufficiency of my means, as you well know, ties me down. It would be highly uſeful if you could get the obſtacle removed. The Ambaſſador is ſtill here, and will poſſibly remain. What a mortification would this be to our Government! And how much more would it be felt, after the indecent joy expreſſed here on his recall! Stockelberg has in his poſſeſſion the original letter of the Duke to the Empreſs, ſolliciting his recall. Baron Taube, who has read the letter, ſays that it is conceived in the ſtyle of Marat, and that the anſwer of the Empreſs is very dry.

No. LI.

M. Ehrenſtrom to Baron Armfelt.

Drottn., 26th Nov. 1793.

I have juſt received your letter from Florence, and Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold has ſent two of yours of the 19th and 23d April, which I have returned, with ſuch obſervations as occurred. The turn of mind which it has been contrived to give the King, is a very perplexing circumſtance for us; I ſhall propoſe to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold a way of opening his eyes, and, if ſhe approve of it, it may be put in execution. More of this hereafter.—If our fate depend on Ruſſia, I fear we have little good to expect from that quarter, at leaſt if we may judge from the eaſe with which the Duke obtained the recall of the Ambaſſador.

No. LII.

M. Ehrenſtrom to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Drottn., 26th May 1795.

My charming Counteſs, your delightful

note of the 21ſt reſtores me to life. I believed myſelf forgot, and ſo much the more, as Papa Franc ſeems determined this age paſt to ſay nothing of your concerns. I return you the two intereſting papers you have been ſo good as to conſide to me. I have been ſo long in decyphering them, as well as the Baron's letter to me, that I have only a few minutes left. Nothing can be more againſt us than the new way of thinking taken up by the King. It changes every thing, and forces us upon expedients that we ſhould otherwiſe regard as ineligible, and even hurtful to our intereſts. As long as the King continues as he is, it will be uſeleſs to think of the different ſteps recommended by Baron Armfelt: what in truth can we expect? If Baron Taube has loſt the King's confidence, I know nobody who can reſtore it to us. If you can point out any one who is equal to the taſk of regaining us the favour his Majeſty has but too readily withdrawn, I would propoſe the following expedient. I will write a Memorial, in which I will endeavour to deſcribe,

deſcribe, and juſtly, the real ſituation of the King, the danger he runs in truſting to the aſſaſſins of his father. This Memorial ſhall be given to him by ſome faithful hand (which you muſt find), and on the condition that the King ſhew it to no one. It ſhall be ſo drawn up as to enlighten the King without alarming him; and, being his private Secretary, for which I am paid, I ſhould not heſitate to ſign the paper, if you thought it proper; but when we are ſo far, how ſhall we approach the King, prejudiced as he is in ſo cruel a manner againſt us? It is a happy circumſtance for us all that you keep up an intimacy with Count Stackelberg, provided you do not commit us by it; and it might be uſeful if he had a copy of our cypher, unleſs you ſhould like a new one for your correſpondence with him. The Diet is not, I believe, ſo near as we were given to expect; and, on the other hand, I fear, whatever our friends may ſay, that the Empreſs is not more diſpoſed to ſecond our efforts than ſhe has hitherto ſhewn herſelf. Stackelberg's recall is a bad ſymptom; for why ſo much

complaiſance

complaiſance for a Miniſtry whoſe hearts are Jacobin? I bewilder myſelf in reconciling it with the known energy of the Empreſs. Our friend is as deſtitute of money as myſelf, which checks all we would and could perform; and the evil is without remedy. —Why did he accept this curſed miſſion to Italy? he might now have been near at hand; but our repentance is too late. I know Lagerbring's antipathy againſt Ruſſia; it is confirmed by the unjuſt proceedings of thoſe who are allied againſt Poland, which nothing can ever excuſe.

No. LIII.

M. Ehrenſtrom to Baron Armfelt.

June 9th 1793, ſent with a letter of the 13th June.

Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold has ſhewn me your melancholy letter of the 4th May. We have no hopes then from Ruſſia, and are to ſuppoſe that the arguments of the Ruſſian Miniſtry have got the better of the generoſity of the Empreſs, Let us yield to

our

our fate with patience and reſignation, and accuſtom ourſelves to the idea, that the aſſaſſins of Guſtavus have ſucceeded in fixing their power on unſhakeable ground: but this cannot be; they will ruin themſelves, though ſlowly, by their own folly and violence. His Excellency Reuterholm is the man of all others to overturn his own party, by his inſupportable pride and preſumption. He and his tribe have it in common with the French Jacobins, whom they reſemble ſufficiently in other reſpects, to carry on deſtructive war among themſelves. It would, however, have been well for us, if the Empreſs had meddled a little with our affairs, though otherwiſe than in Poland. It would have rouſed our courage, and been a ſtandard to repair to. but then we muſt have been ſure of two circumſtances, 1. of the diſintereſtedneſs of her Imperial Majeſty, (and tell me, could we have been ſure of it?) and 2. of the King's approbation. This laſt matter is of the greateſt importance, and unfortunately all we know relative to it is contrary to our views. The cajoling of the Duke, and the

indifference

indifference or treachery of thoſe who are about the King's perſon, added to Count Gyllenſtolpe's weakneſs, have conſpired to deceive the King, and to deprive us of his confidence. I had imagined a way of averting this miſchief, by giving the King, in my quality of his private Secretary, a Memorial which ſhould have contained a true picture of the views of the Regency, and of the King's ſituation, and of thoſe belonging to him. We ſhould have opened his eyes without hurting his ſight, or forgetting his age. But this is all ſet aſide by the objections in Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold's letter of yeſterday, in which ſhe proves the impoſſibility of its execution.

In truth, as long as the King's Governor, trembling and diſcouraged, is too obſtinate to let the King be ſhewn his real intereſts, the evil muſt remain, on that ſide at leaſt, without remedy, and it is time only that can clear away the miſt. But you, my General, could not you depict to the Empreſs a ſtriking reſemblance of our miſerable condition,

and

and convince her, that the King's conduct, inſtead of being his own, is attributable to his being in a poſition ſimilar to that of Louis XVI.? And how can we expect from him, in ſuch a predicament, an exact knowledge of his danger, or imagine that his actions are the reſult of his own will?

No. LIV.

M. Ehrenſtrom to Baron Armfelt.

Stockholm, 17th June 1793

What you wrote to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold on the 23d April, had given us a gleam of hope; but your letter of the 4th May has thrown us into the uncertainty which has perplexed us more or leſs ever ſince Baron Reuterholm's return to Sweden. Ruſſia was the only country likely to ſerve us; but as ſoon as the Empreſs leaves us, and ſhews a diſpoſition favourable to the murderers of the King, our enemies have gained their cauſe; and I ſhould not be ſurpriſed if they ſucceeded, by condeſcenſions

of every ſort, in gaining over that Monarch completely. In her preſent ſituation, I can ſcarcely doubt of their ſucceſs; and we are then loſt without reſource. It is in vain that the plurality of the nation are our friends: what does it avail, while the ſureſt guides are diſperſed in foreign countries, and the whole power lodged in ſeditious hands, which, to complete our misfortune, have ſeduced the King? This laſt circumſtance is the moſt diſtreſſing of any, and is wholly due to Count Gyllenſtolpe, who has alſo allowed Count de la Gardie to have acceſs to the King; and M. de la Gardie, though young, does not waſte his moments, but already flatters himſelf with the idea of being head of a party. If we are to judge from ſome expreſſions which have eſcaped him, it would appear that a Diet will ſoon be aſſembled; but neither the Duke nor Reuterholm deſires it, though they may be forced into the meaſure.

The haughty and inſolent tone of our Cabinet, in ſome late tranſactions with foreign

powers,

powers, particularly with Ruſſia, may poſſibly be explained by ſuppoſing it to be adopted purpoſely to provoke Ruſſia to hoſtile appearances, and thus juſtify the calling of a Diet, as if the country was in danger; and this point gained, the Regency would think nothing of keeping peace, and making reparation by being as humble and ſubmiſſive as it had been impertinent. But they will not hazard this ſtep, till they have deceived the King into approbation; and it is in this way they root themſelves in power, while the faithful friends of the Prince are kept inactive. Time will unriddle all.

No. LV.

M. Ehrenſtrom to Baron Armfelt.

Diurnas, 25th July 1793.

I had the honour in my laſt of giving you my ſentiments on our preſent ſituation, left as we are by the recall of the promiſe of the Empreſs, which ought to have been ſacred, and by our having nothing to hope for in

 that

that quarter. What I now add is perſonal: it is, that if the Empreſs ſhould now offer me a penſion I could not accept it, becauſe it would be without the conſent of the King. I ſhall have no pretext at leaſt for leaving my preſent ſolitude, nor ſhall I expoſe myſelf to what is worſe. My life is for the King, but an intelligence with Ruſſia would now be extremely dangerous; the verſatility of the Ruſſian Miniſtry would make me tremble. I therefore perſiſt in my idea, that a revolution brought about by us alone in the country, without the participation of Ruſſia, would yet be eaſy; but then alſo we muſt have the King's confidence, and be maſter of his perſon. The two Weſtmanns, at the head of the middling claſs of Stockholm, with a few of the blue ribbon near the King's perſon, who ſhould ſhew themſelves on horſeback in the ſtreets, would anſwer the whole purpoſe. The next day a Proclamation might come out, ſaying, that the events of the preceding day had taken place, for the ſake of preventing a war with foreign powers, diſcontented with the late Government,

and

and for a thouſand other reaſons. But at preſent we muſt not think of it. The time for ſuch dreams is over; and our only certainty ſeems to be, that the recall of the Ambaſſador is the ſignal of victory won by our enemies at the Court of Ruſſia, while we may alſo fairly preſume that a cloſer connection will follow.

No. LVI.

Note by the Tranſlator.

The paper publiſhed under this number is a long petition from the priſoner Ehrenſtrom, given in to the Court of Juſtice, on the 19th March 1794, in which he complains of having been confined from the 18th December 1793, without having been either fully examined before the Court, or preciſely informed of the nature of his crime; and further proteſts againſt the legality of any proceedings againſt him on the copies of the letters written by himſelf, Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold, and Baron Armfelt. He puts

in doubt the poſſeſſion, by the Court, of any but copies, and declares in the moſt awful manner, that his whole correſpondence does not contain a ſingle expreſſion which can be conſtrued into a tendency to ſubvert the good order of the ſtate; but, on the contrary, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his attachment to the eſtabliſhed powers, and his affection for the Royal Family. He concludes by praying that the trial might be continued, that his crime might be ſpecified, and that he might be acquainted with the name of his accuſer, whom he declares to be the only enemy of the Government, and of the Duke Regent, and with whom alone the whole affair has originated, and been brought before the public.

The reaſons urged by the Swediſh Government for the delay alluded to in M. Ehrenſtrom's petition, were the nature and extent of the crime, the great diſtance of ſome of the principal conſpirators, and the unavoidable procraſtinations in collecting the neceſſary proofs. In a very few days after the

the delivery of the above paper by M. Ehrenſtrom, the Government was ſo lucky as to obtain from Italy the whole of the original letters of the correſpondence in queſtion, which had been left by Baron Armfelt at Naples.

No. LVII.

Colonel Aminoff to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

28th March 1793.

I ſhould endeavour in vain to expreſs all my reſpect and gratitude for your unexpected letter of March 15th. My affairs have prevented me from writing to you, though the duty of doing ſo is a dear one. My heart is torn with grief and regret; your hand-writing has comforted me. I ſee in it your excellent heart and character, always zealous for your friends, and always animated with ſentiments which the changes of time leave unaltered. What a conſolation to find a perſon who can perſevere! I cannot expreſs to you my high opinion of your

 conduct

conduct on this account—Good God! what are we to expect from ſuch calamitous times as theſe? Almoſt all I ſee are dumb as to our late benefactor, and indifferent as to the ſtate of his ſon the young King, and of the country. It has been ſo from the time that nothing has hindered the faction from purſuing its unbridled career, from employing every where the enemies of the King and of the Conſtitution, while the King is ſurrounded with the aſſaſſins and perſecutors of his father. The picture is ſhocking, but it is true—and no one has the courage to ſtrike at the evil before it becomes incurable.

Your account of the ſituation of our young friend has increaſed my uneaſineſs and fear, and taken away all hope. If he has renounced the opinions of his father and friends, it cannot be denied, that a more ſure method could not be adopted by the faction for ruining him, and us with him. My life is devoted to the memory of his father, or I ſhould not heſitate in my deciſion; but I have

have connections too ſtrong to forget for a moment the duties that flow from them.

I have met with Admiral Stedingk, on his return from Peterſburg. It was he that informed me of the circumſtance of Count Stackelberg's recall. He has been ſo diſcreet and obliging as to ſhew me the minutes of all the letters and diſpatches he wrote to the Duke and to the Great Chancellor during his miſſion. He had been charged with the negotiation of effecting the old man's recall [Count Stackelberg, the Ruſſian Ambaſſador at Stockholm], and he ſays he has ſucceeded. His reports to the Government contain both good and bad for us. I hardly know what to conclude. I fear that theſe * ..... have ſome influence in the Ruſſian Cabinet, and that the old † ..... is but badly informed of what is and will be our ſituation. According to Stedingk, they are careleſs at Peterſburg who governs at Stockholm, but

* The Swediſh Miniſtry. † The Empreſs.

the old * ..... deteſts the Jacobins.—Among the conditions tacked to the recall of Stackelberg, is that of driving from our Miniſtry the Chancellor of the Court, Engſtrom †, as a very odious perſon at Peterſburg.—She wiſhes to keep quiet with us, but in other reſpects to have nothing to do with us. Theſe letters mention neither our King, nor Conſtitution; but expreſs much hatred of the friends of the late King, as having been the cauſe of the war, and of all the evils reſulting from it. This ſeems to have been ſaid by Count Oſterman, in a conference. We ſhall have no Ambaſſador, for ſome time, in the place of Stackelberg; a Chargé d'Affaires will be left behind, and it is afterwards meant to ſend us Count Razoumofsky. Stackelberg's credit ſeems to have been ſinking, from the time of the death of Prince Potemkin, who was his ſupport. It is ſaid he will retire to his eſtate in

* The Empreſs

† He was afterwards ſent as Swediſh Envoy to London.

Livonia. Pray tell the old gentleman of theſe particulars of Stedingk's correſpondence, it will be uſeful to our own cauſe; it ſtrikes me, as of the firſt importance, that we ſhould have a ſecret negotiator at Peterſburg, who might inform the old * . . . . . herſelf of our real poſition. Ehrenſtrom would be the fitteſt and the ſureſt perſon. It would be a mortal blow to the faction, if we could ſo manage, as to prevent Stackelberg from leaving us—his recall is inconceivable. It has already given conſiſtence to this curſed faction, for they believe Ruſſia will join them, and ſuppoſe us to have loſt our laſt ſupport.—So much for the ſecret commiſſion of Stedingk. It muſt be owned, he made the goat a gardener when he entruſted me with the whole of it. How does our abſent friend? Beg of him to be uſeful to us as far as he can where he is. Talk to him of the neceſſity of a negotiator on the ſpot. Good God! Is there then only one bold man left in the country? I declare to you, my friend,

* Empreſs.

that

that the very thought preys daily on my health; my good ſpirits are gone. My valuable friend, for the love of God burn this letter immediately;—tell none of our acquaintance that I have written, except the old man, who may make good uſe of my information. You are the only perſon living to whom I open myſelf without reſerve. I know your excellent heart and character; you unite every quality that makes me eſteem and love you. I am yours till death.

No. LVIII.

Colonel Aminoff to M. d'Ehrenſtrom.

Stralſund, 21 *Dec.* 1793.

. . . . . With regard to my unimportant ſelf, I muſt tell you, that I am treated with much politeneſs. I am preſſed to the command of one of the regiments that are here; but I have made up my mind; I will keep the place and the bit of bread which I owe to the favour, the confidence, and the tender ſolicitude

tude of our Guſtavus. I do not know how to be uſeful either to myſelf or to ———; but in my preſent poſt I may render ſome good ſervice, if God gives me the opportunity. What ſay you of our wretched finances? They are wretched, either from our weak adminiſtration, or from the wicked purpoſe of making them ſerve to overturn every thing.

No. LIX.

Colonel Aminoff to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Stralſund, 21 *Dec* 1793.

I have written to our friend Armfelt, and I wait for his anſwer, as the ſwallow waits for ſummer.—He is ſaid here to be the author of the pamphlet in queſtion. I have myſelf ſeen by a letter, written by an illuſtrious and ſure hand, that it is laid to his charge, and that he is in danger of loſing every thing. Unleſs violence be uſed, which, alas! is but too common, I do not ſee how he ſhould be attacked on this account: even if he ſhould have written the book, it never

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can be proved.—I ſhall do all I can to get it; pray ſend it me, if it fall in your way. I ſee, alſo, that good meaſures are taken againſt the faction, and to ſift their plans; but it is not leſs true, that the members of it are the only perſons employed and promoted. What contradiction! Weakneſs after weakneſs characteriſes the conduct of the day. Claes Loewenhaupt is forgiven; the others will be proceeded againſt. The whole of this is an enigma.—Without the active talents of our friend I ſhould deſpair; and what is worſe, the bad ſtate of our finances will ruin all, unleſs ſome clever head ſhould take the guidance, and ſave us. I ſee by your letter that Romanzow is arrived. Time will teach us if we have loſt or gained by the exchange; every thing will be done to prove that it is for the better. If you write to Great Papa*, remember me to him. Theſe ..... will triumph at his not being yet employed What a misfortune for the good cauſe, that Toll ſhould be ſent

* Stackelberg.

out

out of the country! The fool, always diſcontented, will ſuffer in good time for his ingratitude to the late King. Juſtice always overtakes the criminal. I put it on your conſcience to reconcile our abſent friend*, and my father-in-law†. It would be a death blow to the faction. I dare ſay nothing on this ſubject, but I know the ſecrets of the man; and even if he thought differently from me, I have too much ambition, and too much honour, to let any private connection turn me from my public duty: their coolneſs might be very injurious to our cauſe; you are too quick-ſighted not to be of the ſame opinion.

No. LX.

Draft of a Poſtſcript in Baron Armfelt's own hand to M. d'Ehrenſtrom.

27th March 1793.

I incloſe you a Memorial, which I ſent

* Armfelt. † M. Ruuth, Ex-Miniſter of Finance.

ſome

ſome time ago to the Empreſs, and which I communicated to General Toll in a diſpatch by the ſame courier. Theſe papers contain my ultimatum, and will unfold to you my opinion on the preſent ſtate of our affairs. What I add are ſome further ideas thereon, and in anſwer to what you wrote in your cyphered letter of the 17th of February. There is not in Stockholm a man ſufficiently zealous, and at the ſame time ſufficiently bold, well informed, or reſpectable, to act as he ought in the good cauſe. Such a man would not be allowed to ſtay there 24 hours; ſo that we muſt not reckon on friends to execute our projects. We ought to prevent the formation of clubs or meetings of any ſort, in order to avoid the miſchief that might ariſe from them to the royal party: we ought even to overlook our perſonal wrongs. The only thing which we ſhould not neglect is, to keep our friends well aware of their common danger; to warm their hearts in behalf of our young King; to let them ſee that events of great importance muſt unavoidably happen, and ought to happen;

and

and that they may be kept in courage and at eaſe, to leave their imaginations open to the hope of a better order of things. Nothing can be done without money, and I hope ſoon to be able to ſay ſomething to you thereupon. God keep us from a revolution in Sweden, which might begin and be concluded by our countrymen! We want a chief, energy, order, every thing. An inſurrection, of whatever deſcription, would ruin our affairs, our party, and deprive us of the good fruit of our perfect ſubmiſſion to the principles we profeſs. Preach, I conjure you, exhort to tranquillity, to obedience, to ſubmiſſion; and let us not begin the ſtruggle, till we are ſure we ſhall not be forced to put the ſword into the ſcabbard. Nothing was ſo hurtful to Louis XVI. as the weak and unmeaning meaſures, the intrigues and plans, which, though all in his favour, ended in nothing but proofs of zeal, want of power, impatience, and precipitation. Had my advice been followed in the month of Auguſt, nothing would have been eaſier than to work a change merely by negotiation.

gotiation. At preſent the wretches have fixed themſelves in their power. Every thing is in their hands, and the buſineſs muſt now be treated in a different way. The attack muſt be well ſtudied, and directed to one object only. Hence, my friend, you will ſee the neceſſity of accuſtoming the people to the idea that a revolution is neceſſary and inevitable; and of preſerving, by every meaſure of our own party, that caution, patience, and firmneſs, which will make us at leaſt feared by our enemies, if we ſhould not be able to deceive their vigilance. Ruſſia ought to open the ſcene, and we to take advantage of it. I own we ſhall thereby place ourſelves in a ſort of dependence on Ruſſia. But in the firſt place, this dependence can never laſt beyond the death of the Empreſs; and in the next, the King once of age, we ſhall eaſily ſlip out of it; for at preſent we ſhould profit of a miſunderſtanding between Ruſſia and Denmark, in order to get poſſeſſion of Norway for ourſelves. England, it is true, formerly counteracted this ſcheme, and is now united to Ruſſia by a treaty; but

ſhe would not perhaps be ſorry to ſee that country balanced by Sweden. I will open my ideas on this head another day; at preſent I can only aſſure you, that they are not quite without foundation. I have theſe many months tormented Mademoiſelle de Rudenſkiold with the following commiſſions:— 1. To contrive that the King ſhould write a letter to the Empreſs, according to the draft I ſent her. 2. To ſpeak to the King of his marriage with the Great Ducheſs of Ruſſia, as a very prudent and profitable meaſure. But Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold has ſo little command of herſelf, that ſhe has quarrelled with the King, and the Empreſs is ſtill waiting for the letter, as the ground of her own conduct, and as an inducement for her to act conſiſtently with her own glory, and her friendſhip for the King, rather than according to her own intereſt. This letter is of the laſt importance; pray think of it, and alſo of diſpoſing the King to the marriage.

The Dalecarlians have ſent a deputation to my wife, to make enquiries about me.—

I have thought of writing them a circular letter, worded with great caution and ſimplicity; and I have alſo ſent it to Mademoiſelle de Rudenſkiold. But whom could we employ to deliver it? Nordfors, or Anderſon of the White-guards might be proper perſons, or Hedblad the Poſtmaſter, who has been uſeful to me on former occaſions.—I look upon it as eſſential to bring myſelf to their remembrance, to ſpeak to them of the King, of their attachment to him, and of the military exploits in which we acted together; and all this in order to turn to account, in caſe of need, their fondneſs for me, which they have always ſhewn, and which I am deſirous of preſerving.—Conſult Mademoiſelle de Rudenſkiold on this buſineſs, and as you are on the ſpot, ſee what there is to be done. I ſhall ſend in a fortnight a perſon of truſt to Peterſburg, a perſon of merit and ſenſe; you ſhall have his addreſs, and you will be able to act in concert with him on many points. Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold is acquainted with the object of his journey, and with his character,

character, which is as ſolid as his mind is enlightened. Do not be uneaſy becauſe this cypher is not written by me, and in your anſwer I beg you to take article by article. Ever ſince I have been here, I receive many letters, but never any anſwers.

No. LXI.

Rough Copy of a Letter in Baron Armfelt's own hand, to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Without date.

I am in no way pleaſed with Stackelberg's ſudden recall; and ſtill leſs, that his ſucceſſor is to be Count Sergias de Romanzow. My voice would have been for Romanzow's brother, who was ſent from the Empreſs to the French Princes, and who is a man of ſenſe and courage; whereas this, though he may poſſeſs theſe two qualities, is ſomething of a fool, whimſical, and with ſo much inconſiderate impertinence, that his Court never can continue him in his poſt, without a quarrel between the two

countries. Marcoff is now the moſt important perſonage in the Ruſſian Miniſtry; the plan of conduct is changed; and not having yet obtained the letter from the King to the Empreſs, I am quite inactive, becauſe I cannot addreſs myſelf directly to her. I ſhould be taken in Ruſſia for an intriguing adventurer, if circumſtances did not juſtify me. I ſhall therefore remain quiet, and God knows for how long, unleſs for certain reaſons I determine on quitting the Swediſh ſervice, and Sweden itſelf.— With reſpect to Romanzow, I beg of you to keep up an appearance of avoiding all connection with him, that it might not be ſaid you hold to the Ruſſian miſſion. Your friendſhip with old Stackelberg covered many circumſtances that muſt not appear at preſent. We muſt approach the new Ambaſſador as far as events make it neceſſary; I will point out both the time and the manner, for I muſt firſt abſolutely obtain from Ruſſia the information I have demanded. If however it were poſſible to get this letter from the King, the beſt way would

would be to get Stackelberg to undertake it, repreſenting to him, that ſuch a ſtep would be fair and honourable. Employ Taube, Gyllenſtolpe, whom you will, provided we ſucceed. My Ruſſian letters tell me that Divoff was in ſecret correſpondence with Segur; and that ſhe had the baſeneſs to intrigue in the French buſineſs. God forbid that you have been ſimple enough to ſhew her any great confidence! Thoſe who know her well, pretend that ſhe is capable of every thing. I think Gyllenſtolpe might eaſily recover the King's confidence. The child may well have been ſeduced and diſcouraged, but his character is ſolid, his judgment is ſlow, but grounded and ſure. We have only to open his eyes, and in doing ſo we muſt not heſitate about manner and means. In general you ought to ridicule and undervalue the preſent; excite alarms for the future, and make compariſons between our preſent ſituation, and our paſt importance and grandeur;—the whole without vehemence or bitterneſs, but ſimply and naturally: youth is eaſily touched and

raiſed; take advantage of it; and may all thoſe who are not yet loſt, be electrified by the genius of the great man who has diſappeared from among us; but whoſe underſtanding and influence will be immortal, and always give his admirers and friends conſideration and force in time of need! Let the French affairs go to the devil, and our Government continue to blunder.

No. LXII.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold; In the Baron's own hand.

4th May 1793.

I am now more than ever perſuaded, that the Ruſſian Cabinet, not ſure of the way of thinking of our young King, and ſeeing that nothing I had promiſed takes place, leaves us to our fate, and is not diſpleaſed that Sweden ruins herſelf daily by her bad conſtitution, in ſuch a way as never to be able to alarm Ruſſia. Theſe ideas may have been contrary to thoſe of the Empreſs;

Empreſs; but the good counſel of her Miniſtry, and the ſlavery or inactivity in which the King is kept, may however have fixed her in them. In this reſpect, I can do nothing further, either for my country, or in favour of my own principles. I therefore propoſe to remain quiet from this day, in order not to be obliged to ſerve a King without authority, and a country without honour. The only ſervice I now aſk of you, and it is eſſential to the proteſtation I mean to print, is to anſwer clearly to the following queſtions.—1. Have you ſpread, in the interior of the country, the principles and way of thinking which I begged you to propagate? 2 Have you taken any meaſures to convince the Ruſſian Cabinet that I might be very uſeful in Sweden? 3. Have you found means, ſince the time of your not obtaining the letter from the King, to acquaint him with my opinion as to his marriage with the eldeſt Grand Ducheſs?—When you have anſwered to theſe points I ſhall be able to take my meaſures. Hitherto I have followed ſuch as

are falſe and fruitleſs; for all is uncertainty; and I only flatter myſelf as to the attention which has been paid to my advice; and this at a greater hazard, becauſe the moment is now come, in which I muſt think a little of my own perſonal concerns.

What Mineur tells you of Nordin [Governor of a province] cannot be true. Nordin, like many others, is obliged to lower his tone, that he might not be ſent about his buſineſs, and accuſed. Pray tell Mineur that nothing is more dangerous than ſuſpicions of this ſort; a party is often ruined by them. It is much better not to take any notice, and to ſhew an implicit confidence. By ſuch a method, if thoſe whom we ſuſpect have thought a moment of turning coat, we leave them a fine opening to their coming back to us; and in our ſituation, our only arms are patience, activity, and courage, however irkſome. Talk to every body; treat with kindneſs thoſe who are aſtray, from ignorance or folly, and wiſh to amend. Pretend to truſt

to

to their honour and honeſty, but in fact diſtruſt them, for theſe two qualities are baniſhed from Sweden.

No. LXIII.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold. In the Baron's own hand.

May 7th 1793.

Your idea is excellent: we ſhall never find a more ſuitable creature for the execution of our plan than a free maſon, another Plommenfelt. But it is too late to be propoſed to the Empreſs. She has no high opinion of myſteries, and deſpiſes thoſe who are fond of them. Romanzow, with ſome new money, activity, and a fleet well equipped, would do more than we can hope for from any train of cunning. If for our misfortune it is not yet ſettled to re-eſtabliſh the Conſtitution of 1720, that is to ſay, to ruin all by their own folly, and I fear this may be the caſe, from the manner in which the King is brought up, and the bent of thoſe

thoſe about him, a favourable change might be effected at home in twenty-four hours; if not, there is no other expedient than a civil war. But even ſuch a diſaſter would be preferable to the anarchy of 1720. I have done, and ſhall continue to do, all I can, but I muſt have a little help.

No. LXIV.

Baron Armfelt to the Count de Gyllenſtolpe, In the Baron's own hand.

Cyphered diſpatch of the 21th September 1793.

I could not in my laſt inform your excellency, that the King's letter, delivered to me by the Baroneſs Armfelt, cannot be made of uſe, in whatever way it be conſidered. One would imagine he conſtrained himſelf to write ſo coldly. In other reſpects, the letter is in the ſame ſtyle the King his father uſed when he was obliged to anſwer thoſe to whom he wiſhed to ſay abſolutely nothing. I owe this truth to your excellency, begging however that the King

may be informed I am very contented with his letter.

No. LXV.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Perugia, 8th Oct. 1793.

- - - - Adieu, my dear friend, I embrace you a thouſand times; and though you are not deſirous to ſee me return, you will not avoid it much longer. Remember what I now write at Perugia: all Sweden will doubt of it eight months more.

No. LXVI.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Terni, 11th Oct 1793.

It has really been agitated in the Jacobin Club at Paris, to declare war againſt Sweden and Denmark, but unfortunately nothing has been determined on. Stael is not leſs a fine fellow

fellow on that account, nor the other Counſellors of his Royal Highneſs the Regent. Nothing is more natural than the progreſs of Jacobiniſm; thoſe who have nothing are deſirous of acquiring and of mending their condition.

No. LXVII.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Rome, 19th Oct 1793.

- - - I am not enough myſelf to anſwer the Great Chancellor to-day. You ſhall receive from Naples all the particulars, and by the ſame poſt that carries my anſwer and my ſentence. I am only a private man, attached to my King, to the principles that ought to flow from royalty, and to my own glory, conſequently a ſubject ſuch as Princes ſhould deſire; but as I have not been admitted to ſerve in this ſenſe, and as, on the contrary, the knife is kept to my throat, my honour requires from this time, that without changing my ſentiments or forgetting my duty as a

ſubject,

ſubject, I look on my misfortune as complete. Menaces are uſed to alarm me; it is meant to humble me by depriving me of my all; but when a man has learnt to look on death before him without affright, he is not eaſily intimidated by unjuſt threats; and as I never felt the poſſibility of being baſe, want itſelf will be voluptuous. If the conjuncture ſhould be ſuch, as that I am without reſources, I will prepare you for ſuch events, as will come quickly and require courage; but I am not in a ſtate to talk of this now.—That poltroon Ehrenſtrom is comical with his fear about Ruſſia. How could ſuch an idea enter the head of a man of ſenſe and activity? I expect to ſee ſoon the effects of the Duke's anger; but I will not dilate on this ſubject, the ſword being, as I told you in the beginning of my letter, out of the ſcabbard. Endeavour to make the King ſenſible, that he is on the point of taking a deciſive meaſure with regard to me, which will make me deſperate.

No. LXVIII.

Baron Armfelt to M. Ehrenſtrom.

Naples, 29th Oct. 1793.

Your reaſonings, my real friend, on the ſubject of our troubles in Sweden, are very juſt; and nothing can weaken this truth, that if we can take advantage, even of an inſurrection, the throne will obtain force, the ſtate order, and the extravagant conduct of thoſe who lead will be well rewarded.

No. LXIX.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Naples, 2d Nov 1793.

I am very ſorry for the accident of my letter to Sparreſkiold. As for me, I am reſolved, and deſpiſe the raſcals; but this is not the caſe with that poor lad. Beg him to be at Stockholm two or three days before Chriſtmas, when a perſon will give him a letter from me, which I hope will anſwer his

his purpoſe. He will follow this traveller, and afterwards meet me, without the neceſſity of begging his bread.

No. LXX.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Naples, 9th Nov. 1793.

- - - - It is probable that I ſhall ſoon have nothing remaining, but life and honour;—for our meeting again depending on the life of one man, I dare not reckon this happineſs among thoſe that are ſoon to be my ſhare.

No. LXXI.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

The ſame date.

The laſt Swediſh poſt brought me only one letter, but ſeveral Gazettes from Hamburg of the 25th October, and letters from merchants

merchants of the 15th. My laſt from you is of the 11th October. This proves to me, that my letters have been intercepted, either in Sweden or at the Swediſh Poſt-office at Hamburg. The accident is very diſagreeable, but we muſt meet all, and give notice to our friends and correſpondents.

No. LXXII.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Naples, 30th Nov. 1793.

If the Regent had granted me ſix months leave of abſence to put my affairs in order, I could have preſented myſelf in the way I mentioned to you in my laſt; but, according to my information from Sweden and from the reſt of Europe, I can neither be uſeful to the King nor to the Regent, in the ſervice of my country. If they would allow me to come back to live in the country, without meddling with buſineſs, and give me my appointments for one year, to pay

off a part of my debts, I would give up all my projects, and be the happieſt man in the world; and if my Magdalen loved me, I would never be ſeparate from her, except when ſhe went to Court, or in the great world, where I ſhould never deſire to appear.

No. LXXIII.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Naples, 28th Dec 1793.

Do you believe it poſſible ſo to manage, that the King in converſing with the Ambaſſador may ſay to him, that he well knows the intereſt the Empreſs takes about him, and that he conſiders me as a very faithful ſubject? It would not be ſaying much; but it would bind the party in a double ſenſe, or would prevent the Empreſs from following any other plan than that which ſhe has publicly declared.

No. LXXIV.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Naples, 4th Jan. 1794.

- - - Do not forget, my angel, what I told you of Romanzow. His object is to form a party in Sweden. I know he has one, and that it is impoſſible to deſtroy the bud of it. But the party of which the Ruſſian Ambaſſador is the chief cannot ſuit me, knowing how to guide it myſelf. I wiſh theſe gentlemen well ſo far as to act with them from time to time; but never ſo far as to grant them any pre-eminence, or yield them authority in caſes in which they would be more dangerous as friends than as enemies. We can and we ought to be independent. I hope you have made excuſes to Nottbeck or to Adaduroff, for the awkward manner in which you received from the latter the letter he brought you from Stackelberg. Your anſwer, I make no doubt, was excellent, and ſuitable to the circumſtances, and to my wiſhes reſpecting the King's marriage.

No. LXXV.

Baron Armfelt to Mademoiſelle Rudenſkiold.

Naples, 7th Jan. 1794

Does J. Fr. Aminoff go with his father-in-law Ruuth to Stralſund, and does not he talk of going to Finland to exerciſe his regiment? It appears to me, that in our preſent ſituation we ought not to neglect our duties and our friends, eſpecially in caſes where a man is liked by his officers and ſoldiers.

No. LXXVI.

Baron Armfelt to M. Sources.

Naples, 17th Dec. 1793.

My letters of Thurſday contain nothing of conſequence. I write to you by this poſt, becauſe you left on my table the incloſed packet, which you may ſtand in need of. All our trouble to get the 4,000 ducats has proved abortive, and I ſhall become a fine

fellow in the month of January, unleſs a certain lady get me out of my embarraſſment, and you get me credit for this ſum. Madame d'Armfelt has been ill for ſome days paſt, but that will paſs off. In ſhort, my friend, as you well know, one misfortune does not come alone. I hope you recollected at Rome the engraver Grandel; if not, write to him, under cover to Piraneſi the Swediſh agent, that he may be ſure of my anſwer on a buſineſs he charged me with. Adieu, my friend! May you keep your health on your troubleſome journey, and may I meet you in June, at ſome poſt-houſe in Poland!

P. S. I have received your letter from Rome, and will do for La Pierre what you aſk; but perhaps General Acton has already refuſed.—As to the *affair that preſſes*, if it does not ſucceed ſome how or other, I ſhall ſoon play a miſerable part. All my projects fail, and I own I am in a wretched condition. Take care of the ſnuff-box Grandel gave you for Mademoiſelle de Rudenſkiold. I will write to you no more at Hamburg.

No. LXXVII.

Baron Armfelt to M. Sources.

Naples, 28th Dec. 1793.

I write only a few words, to beg you would not leave Hamburg before you have received another letter from me. The criſis is come, whether for life or death I know not. Reſt aſſured, however, that nothing can alter my compoſure or my way of thinking. My money matters are in the ſame ſtate.—Mr. Gibbs is a rogue; he has played me a fine trick with Lord Grandiſon. The fellow meant to affront me by ſaying I had no money, but he did not ſucceed.—A word of General Acton has raiſed a belief that it was intended to turn you to good account as to the commerce of this country. this has procured you many enemies, and me a thouſand little anecdotes. I laugh at it all; but it may be worth your while to be a little circumſpect in future. Moſt men are deceivers or deceived; believe nothing but actions.—Adieu, remember me to Peiron.

The plan of my book, which you have, is prohibited in Sweden—ſo take care. It may be better if you can contrive ſo as to take with you neither the letter nor that plan.

No. LXXVIII.

Baron Armfelt to M. Sources.

Naples, 7th Jan. 1794

I have not a word to ſay. We have heard nothing from you ſince you left Rome, and are uneaſy at this ſilence; but as the German poſt is not come in, that from Bologna may alſo have been retarded. My laſt Swediſh letters ſay nothing, either as to my recall or to my diſmiſſion; but thoſe from Ruſſia promiſe every thing, in caſe the firſt ſhould happen; ſo that I deſire with ardour what others would conſider as a miſfortune. As ſoon as my fate is decided at Stockholm, which muſt be ſoon, for I muſt have an anſwer, I will write to you, and ſend you all the papers in queſtion, of which the

the ſtyle will be adapted to the humour that may have been taken on my account. You perceive that it will be impoſſible to commit this packet to the poſt, and as you are going from Hamburg, you may ſettle with your correſpondent there, to ſend your letters to Helſingor, where you will receive mine, and thus ſave time, and arrange the neceſſary precautions. Remember what I ſaid to you about the King's Governor, and how you muſt ſet about ſeeing him. There is another perſon to whom you muſt pay your court, and to whom you ſhould write on your arrival, to know at what hour ſhe can receive you—I mean the Counteſs de Rudenſkiold. Liſten attentively to all ſhe may ſay, but anſwer nothing which may not tend to get her confidence. Say all you can think of to convince her of my attachment; but when you mention my wife and family, let it be with a tone of indifference. As to the other ladies, you know well that no one is more charming than ſhe to whom you ſpeak. Theſe are trifles which my friendſhip dictates, and which ſhould remain between us.

Adieu.—I am ſtill uneaſy about the diamond and Mr. Gibbs.—All this will go to the d——l.

No. LXXIX.

Baron Armfelt to Colonel Amnoff.

Naples, 14th Jan. 1794

I congratulate you on being able to breathe for ſome months a *purer* air than in Sweden; but keep firm to your reſolution of being with your regiment in May. We have a ſad example of emigration in the French: if 900,000 perſons had not quitted their country, and thus deprived their King of the help he had a right to expect, it might not have been ſo eaſy for the murderers of Louis XVI. to bring him to the ſcaffold. It is poſſible that we may meet if you ſhould be on the Gulph of Finland about July, when I ſhall be at Peterſburg. I will give you notice of the time and manner of ſetting our meeting without committing you. Do not forget the word of honour which we exchanged,

changed, oppoſite the back-gate of the Princeſs's houſe, in the end of March 1792.

No. LXXX.

Baron Armfelt to M. de Sparreſkiold, Gentleman of the Court.

Naples, 17th Dec 1793.

Courage, my friend. The intereſts of honeſt folk are in a bad way; but the time is coming when the wheel will turn, and rogues receive their recompenſe.—Diſcouragement is bad on all occaſions; it is owing to the weakneſs of Princes that we ſee ſuch blows againſt religion, morals, and thrones.

No. LXXXI.

In Baron Armfelt's own hand to M. Toll.

My laſt accounts from Stockholm and from Peterſburg are the more vexatious, as I can

I can form no idea either of the meaning or train of things at home. It is out of doubt that our Cabinet has differences to ſettle with that of Peterſburg, and that the Empreſs is not pleaſed with us; but this ſhould induce the Regent to prevent a breaking out. The adminiſtration of affairs in the country, and the ſort of lettres de cachet which are ſtill in uſe, do not ſurpriſe me. A weak government uſes theſe means till no means are left to make itſelf reſpected. But the Swediſh intrigues at Conſtantinople to excite the Turks, the negotiations with the French Republic, are in no way ſecret; and then the doings with Denmark, with the malcontents in Poland, and the forming of corps at home, are circumſtances too important not to attract the notice of Ruſſia. It is on account of the manner and of the conſequences of a rupture, that I deſire to communicate to you my ſentiments: I write alſo thereon by this poſt to Ruſſia, though I ſhould have been firſt glad to know your opinion. It would be impolitic and dangerous if the Empreſs ſhould undertake to begin the war againſt

us. After the aſſurances which ſhe gave the King, of her wiſhes, as a ſincere friend and as a mother, to defend his perſon and authority, ſhe ought not, for her own glory, to indulge herſelf in attacking and laying waſte a country of which he is ſoon to take the government. Independently of the evils attached to war, what bad impreſſion would not be made on the minds of the Swedes, by the infraction of ſo clear a treaty, and the employ of Ruſſian ſuperiority and force! The whole ſyſtem hitherto in view would fall, and the momentary advantage Ruſſia might derive from the war, would never balance the miſchiefs without end reſulting from the national and inveterate hatred of Sweden. For though we are a little frivolous and pliable, we certainly have a high bold character, which has more than once got the better of a foreign yoke.—The Ruſſian Miniſtry might doubtleſs anſwer. But are we obliged to allow Sweden to raiſe us up enemies, to collect her troops in order to attack us at a favourable moment? Are we to ſee our neareſt neighbour adopt principles

inimical

inimical to all good government, and bring home to us diſaſters and cruelties flowing from a new ſeditious doctrine? Beſides, when politics are in hand, it is of the firſt importance to prevent being ſurpriſed.—Amidſt ſuch reaſonings from the Miniſters of the two nations, a faithful ſubject and citizen, and an honeſt man, ought to propoſe a middle term, and ſeparate the King and the nation from a prevailing faction, and a ſet of innovators. The Empreſs, in declaring that ſhe is acquainted with the ſecret intrigues againſt her encouraged by the Court of Stockholm, ought to ſhew all Europe that it is we who have broken the peace; but that, far from attributing ſuch meaſures to the King, whom ſhe loves, and to a reſpectable nation which ſhe eſteems, ſhe will only call upon the perſons who ſurround the Regent, and continually betray him into ſuch fallacious ſteps, inducing him to violate his own good faith, to neglect his duties, his promiſes, and the reſpect due to the memory of his deceaſed brother.—and further, that relying on the purity of the Duke's intentions,

tions, and hoping that he would not plunge into calamity, ſhe had paſſed over in ſilence the *deſtruction of the arrangements* of the late King; but that ſeveral circumſtances having opened her eyes, ſhe ſaw herſelf obliged, in order to ſave the King of Sweden, and to fruſtrate any hoſtile attack againſt her own empire, to propoſe the following changes, for the ſake of re-eſtabliſhing order and ſafety. (See No. 87.)

You are ſenſible that ſuch language can neither be held nor enforced without a fleet and a military corps to land near Dalero. This is a little frightful; but dangerous diſtempers require violent remedies, and when an end is aimed at, the means muſt not be refuſed.—I know it, a thouſand inconveniencies may be the conſequence in the country, from this meaſure of *compreſſion*; but beſides that a prudent, firm, and bold Government gets the better of all, it will be ſufficient for our purpoſes if fourteen or fifteen perſons are exiled, and all Sweden will be quiet.—It is a great comfort when a coun-

try can be purified by drawing a little blood from ſuch a ſmall number of individuals. —In my project, in which I ſpeak of the changes to be effected in our Miniſtry, I have mentioned neither you nor myſelf: but we ſhall always find our proper places; and in the predicament we ſtand in, and with our means of gaining the populace, it is always right not to bind ourſelves by any obligation towards a foreign power.

No. LXXXII.

M. Tell to Baron Armfelt.

Warſaw, 26th March 1793.

My inſtructions not having been changed, I keep up, as thoſe inſtructions clearly direct, and as cordially as I can, a ſtrict intimacy with the Ruſſian miſſion.—I ſend you with this a few remarks, and am till death, &c.

No. LXXXIII.

M. Toll to Baron Armfelt.

[Explanation of a cyphered letter, dated Warſaw, 26th March 1793 Given in the hand writing of the Abbe Heral.]

--- I own that our poſition becomes daily more critical, and that we ſhall ſoon need efficacious remedies againſt the laſt attack, unleſs a general inſurrection decide our fate. I have nothing to add to your mature reflections on the projects ſet on foot in Sweden, on the manner in which Ruſſia may conſider them, and on what would be noble and prudent on the part of that country. Allow me, however, to obſerve, that in adopting the means which you propoſe to bring about a new order of things, we open for ever to Ruſſia the means of meddling with our own concerns, and of diſpoſing of employments: do we not riſk making the remedy worſe than the diſeaſe itſelf?—I will not, in truth, flatter myſelf with the hope that the Duke opens his eyes and the door at the ſame time

to drive out the faction; but as it would be almoſt a miracle, conſidering who ſurround him, and the abſence of thoſe who can tell him the truth, I have thought it my duty to do all I can for the good of the ſtate, by informing his Royal Highneſs of the neceſſity of thinking of what is to follow. I have alſo given the Ruſſian Ambaſſador to underſtand, that if the armaments in Sweden and Ruſſia are not deſtined againſt France, and if they are only the effect of diſtruſt, I am perſuaded that the Duke, deceived by perſons ſold and given up to Jacobiniſm, will liſten to an explicit declaration from Ruſſia, ſtating her doubt of his good intentions, and that thereby the peace of the two nations will be preſerved. I have held the ſame language to General Igelſtrom, and I make no doubt that both of them will be glad to communicate it to their court. It is indeed probable that Ruſſia would rather negotiate than make war; and if negotiation ſucceed, then will be the time for the execution of your projects.

No. LXXXIV.

In Baron Armfelt's own hand to M. Toll.

Your remarks of the 26th March are worthy your penetration and ſentiments, both as a ſubject and as a citizen. I agree with you in your fears of Ruſſia, if once ſhe meddles with our domeſtic affairs. It has long balanced my deſire of ſeeing her interfere; but I have reaſoned thus · The weak and impolitic conduct of the Regent will end ſome how or other by ſubjecting us to a foreign influence. The convocation of the Diet, the diſorders in the country, and the inconſiderate ſteps taken with regard to foreign powers, will bring us at laſt into this ſituation. What will be the conſequence? The King's authority will be diminiſhed; thoſe who ſee clearly and are men of character will get weary of their own uſeleſs efforts, or will be ſet aſide altogether. The nation, depraved by corruption and by the conſtant change of ſyſtem and of conſtitution, will not be able to diſtinguiſh the

good from the evil, and leſs than ever in a condition to recover her vigour, energy, and glory. On the other hand, if the nation were under the influence of Ruſſia, the miſchief could not laſt long; for the Empreſs has not long to live, and at her death her own empire will be convulſed by that event, and the King would ſoon find himſelf in a condition to recover his former independence. Theſe conſiderations have led me to prefer means that are ſhort and ſure. What, in truth, could we ever expect, while affairs were headed by men who only think of their own advantages, and of the ruin of thoſe who oppoſe their deſpotiſm—eſpecially as the Empreſs or her Miniſtry now ſeem to abandon us, to favour the ſyſtem that muſt produce this violent rupture, and, when the Diet is aſſembled, to buy her influence ſo much the cheaper, on account of the failure of ready money which uſed to come from France?—I repeat that the preſent fallacious meaſures muſt lead to theſe conſequences, and that Ruſſia will ſoon have an opportunity of interfering in our concerns, while that

that of recovering our independence may never return. You have perhaps not heard of the concert eſtabliſhed between the Empreſs and the King, a little before his death, on the ſubject of Norway. It was the natural reſult of the projected diſmemberment of France, and of the partition of Poland. The late King, though he diſliked the two latter meaſures, was eager to realize the former by encroaching on Norway. The idea was not perhaps amiſs, when it is conſidered that the propoſed family alliance between Ruſſia and Sweden would grow more reſpectable, while that with Ruſſia and Denmark was becoming leſs neceſſary; and then too the want of energy in Denmark which Ruſſia would deſpiſe!—It is at any rate allowable to treat the imagination with ſuch ſchemes, and ſurely ſo to profit of the death of the Great Catherine, when the diſturbances now hatching in her empire will come to maturity; I mean as to her ſucceſſor.—Your underſtanding will graſp, without further explanation, the extent of my projects, at the ſame time not conceal the truth, that no ef-

fectual change can take place in Sweden without force.

No. LXXXV.

General Toll to Baron Armfelt.

Warſaw, 29th May 1793.

You will ſoon receive from me a letter which it will be more difficult to make out; I do not ſay it will be better written.—I muſt firſt confer with - - - - -, who, as you know, is as circumſpect as the devil in perſon.

No. LXXXVI.

Letter from General Toll to Baron Armfelt.

Warſaw, 19th July 1793.

I am this moment informed that a Declaration is now printing at Stockholm, by which the Regent propoſes to ſuppreſs even the ſpeculation of a Diet, or of any aſſembly during the minority. The ſame Declaration

tion will, it is ſaid, avow a diſapprobation of what is paſſing in France. If this ſhould be true, it might follow, that the Duke, opening his eyes, will open at the ſame time the door to a ſet of - - - - - -

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No. LXXXVII.

Plan of a Revolution, copied by M. Vignes, Baron Armfelt's Private Secretary.

I have meditated, in travelling, a revolution which might be effected in Sweden, without bloodſhed, noiſe, or any public diſturbance; without weakening the ſprings of power and authority; and which would leave the Duke in quiet for the moment, and with a certain influence and conſideration at the end of his adminiſtration. This may appear enigmatical, but, on looking cloſer, the truth will ſhew itſelf. Let us firſt examine the ſituation of the Regent, in the preſent conjuncture, and that independently of the King, and of the intereſt of the State.—A fermentation of an undeſcribable nature, kept up by perſons of

different principles and views, and agreeing in nothing but their reſtleſſneſs and deſire of revolution; an Adminiſtration without energy; men in office, the prey of their own paſſions, full of by-conſiderations, without experience, without ſtrong minds, without principles; but raſh and timid, violent in their wills, and tottering in execution; in one word, bad counſellors of the Regent. What might not be the conſequence of all this, in ſuch a neighbourhood as Ruſſia, and with the diſcontent the Empreſs is harbouring againſt the Duke? Can that Prince, thinking on theſe circumſtances, hope to keep the reins of Government the three years that are yet to come? Many accidents foreſeen and unforeſeen may prevent it, or at leaſt expoſe his Royal Highneſs moſt diſagreeably; and even if reſpect for the wiſhes of the late King ſhould leave things as they are, what will be the iſſue at the end of the Regency? The Regent, hated by every one of any worth, without weight and without conſideration in the country, will employ his laſt efforts in forming a party. If the King ſhould not fall a victim to it, the war which muſt follow

can

can never be advantageous in proportion to the miſchief that will happen. I would therefore, to attain the chief object without violence, and bring about a ſure revolution, mild and efficient, that the Empreſs ſhould propoſe to the Duke the following points, in amicable but at the ſame time in poſitive language.

1. That the King, evincing capacity and genius, ſhould be admitted to the Council, but without exerciſing any authority till the age of eighteen.

2. That he ſhould alſo bring into the Council the following perſons: 1. the Riksdrotz (Chief Juſtice); 2. the King's Governor, Count de Gyllenſtolpe; 3. the Miniſter for the time being of Foreign Affairs; 4. the Chancellor of the Court and the Secretaries of State; 5. Baron Armfelt; 6. General Toll; 7. the Preſident of the State Counter of Finance.

3. That in twenty-four hours the Duke ſhould name Baron Taube Preſident of the

Chancery, on the footing in which that poſt was held by Ulric Scheffer; that done, it ſhould depend on him to name the Secretaries and Clerks in the Chancery:—Baron Frederic Sparre ſhould be diſmiſſed; great places are uſeleſs in little States.

4. That I ſhould be replaced in my poſt of Great Governor of Stockholm, with all the prerogatives attached to that place, as in the time of Charles Sparre: the Governorſhip of the Palace ſhould however be a ſeparate appointment.

5. That the Governors of Provinces, Lagerbring and Nordin, ſhould be named Secretaries of State; the firſt in his old department, the ſecond in that now occupied by Roſenblad: Cronſtedt ſhould fill his old place.

6. That Beres or Zibet ſhould be Chancellor of the Court. The latter would prefer, I ſhould imagine, ſome foreign miſſion; if not, the laſt-named place.

7. That Toll ſhould be Secretary at War,

with the moſt extenſive authority on the ſtate and œconomy of the army.

8. That Hokanſon ſhould be named Preſident of the Counter of State.

9. The Chancellor of Juſtice muſt reſign, and in his place ſhall be named ſome man that is ſevere, juſt, and eſteemed, but not ſuch a man as *Loſtbom.*

10. Axel Ferſen muſt be appointed Adjutant General, with the cane of Commandant at Stockholm.

11. and laſtly, It is requiſite that F. J. Aminoff ſhould replace Liljehorn, for whom ſhould be created, as the late King wiſhed, the office of Chief of the Trabans, reducing the Captain Lieutenants, who would then be merely Officers of the Court. By this change, that corps, which is now uſeleſs, would become ſerviceable. As for the other places and perſons, we ſhould go on gently, and with a little management, without ſhewing either diſcontent or peeviſhneſs. Every

one

one being in his place, the tranquillity of Sweden would be reſtored, and Jacobiniſm rooted out in three months.

In order to give force to this negotiation with the Duke, it would be neceſſary that a Ruſſian fleet ſhould cruize as high as Stockholm, till the whole were ſettled.

No. LXXXVIII.

Fragment of a Plan of Revolution written in the Baron Armfelt's own hand.

[This plan enumerates the ſame change of perſons and places: the Baron then proceeds as follows]

What we do beyond this muſt be done quietly, and we ſhall ſoon ſee all in order. The Duke muſt be kept in convenient check, and I am ſure that in three months Sweden will be tranquil; which is impoſſible as long as we have ſo many meddlers and good-for-nothings, the natural conſequence of our Conſtitution. To ſupport all this, it would be neceſſary that a Ruſſian fleet ſhould cruize as high as Stockholm;

holm; and the Duke, once in our hands, ſhould not get out of them.

No. LXXXIX.

Memorial addreſſed to the Empreſs of Ruſſia.

[Theſe words are written on the back of the paper, in Baron Armfelt's own hand, the Memorial itſelf is copied by his Secretary Vignes as follows]

It would be impoſſible to conceal the preſent critical and dangerous ſtate of Sweden; and he who loves his country, and deſires ardently to ſerve it, muſt feel it his duty to unmaſk the evil. It requires courage to look at that evil in its full extent, that the judgment may not be warped—and that palliatives may not be ſubſtituted for remedies which cannot be too ſtrong, nor applied too ſoon. There can be no doubt that the Regency, from the beginning, has been diſmayed at the appearance of activity and vigour in a faction become powerful by the number of its adherents, by its audaciouſneſs, and by its crimes; that the Regency has

has hoped to ſubdue this faction by unmeaſured and very blameable condeſcenſion; and that the temerity of the one has been augmented by the daſtardly weakneſs of the other. Inſtead of ſeeking for favour and indulgence, the faction dared openly to avow its pretenſions; and having obtained the liberty of the preſs, a ſpirit of revolt was ſoon ſpread in the army, and through the country. The bad effects of ſuch a conceſſion were perceived too late, and thoſe who granted it have ſince vainly endeavoured to correct and limit the miſchief. The faction ſees its progreſs; feels, that owing to its preponderance the law is in force againſt thoſe only who defend the prerogatives of the crown, and the general order; takes advantage of the falſe ſteps of the Regency, and heightens them into crimes, in order to root its own authority. In this manner, the Government ſerves the purpoſes of its enemies; and by pretending a diſplay of energy, and by iſſuing public ordinances in imperious language, it diſcovers its weakneſs, and encourages both cenſure and inſult.

Such

Such is our internal poſition; the ſame influence may be traced to the confuſion of our ſyſtem with foreign powers. The Duke, for example, is indeed to make diſhonourable agreements with the French Republic, ſo called, and the ſecret agents of the French at Conſtantinople and Stockholm, who have probably occaſioned the concentring of the troops near the capital, and the fitting out of the galley fleet, and perhaps furniſhed the expences. Thus Sweden is in a ſhort time become a northern ſource of revolutionary principles; a circumſtance which ought not to be overlooked by Ruſſia, eſpecially ſince the Swediſh Government has opened negotiations contrary to the intereſts of both countries. We muſt therefore acknowledge, with ſhame and affliction, that Sweden, by this accumulation of bad meaſures and deſtructive principles, within and without, has forced the Empreſs to come forward; and it is on the object of the immediate ſteps that Princeſs may determine to take, that I preſume to offer the following reflections:

It

It is clear that the evil flows from the weakneſs of the Regent :— this weakneſs is the diſtruſt of his Royal Highneſs in his own talents; from whence it is alſo clear, that he will remain to the laſt moment the paſſive organ of a headſtrong and implacable faction, the ſame which he has ſo unworthily endeavoured to make his friends. It is not therefore from any miſchievous diſpoſition towards Sweden and the neighbouring powers, that the Regent has committed ſo many errors, but from a ſubmiſſion to momentary circumſtances, and conſequently not the effect of deliberate purpoſe, or of a ſtable plan of government; and it follows, that by a change of perſons, by ſurrounding the Duke with men likely to ſerve their King and country by their courage, zeal, and ſound principles, the whole might be ſaved; and this effect would be produced the more certainly, becauſe, ariſing from the interference of the Empreſs, it would be maintained by her power.

This detail ſhews the advantage of ſaving Sweden

Sweden by gentle, though not leſs vigorous means: another advantage of ſuch means would be the opportunity to the Empreſs of diſplaying an uſeful predominance, which would give her the glorious right of ſettling the ſtate of Europe, in its preſent circumſtances. The tractableneſs of this part of the world would brighten the luſtre of the glory ſhe has acquired by her victories and conqueſts; the one proving the extent of her genius, the other the excellence of her heart. Thus Catherine II. far from increaſing her power at the expence of Sweden by the fomenting of diſſenſion, would, on the contrary, by the efficiency of her ſuccour, deliver the kingdom from the diſtractions of a revolution, and deliver it undiminiſhed to the young monarch, to whom ſhe has already promiſed to be a mother, and who with ſentiments of filial attachment ſo ſincerely endeavours to merit her affection:— ſhe will not therefore confound the Regent with thoſe who oppreſs him, nor his oppreſſors with the nation, in order not to give the faction an opportunity of ſetting themſelves

ſelves forth as the champions of the public cauſe, which would end only in the bettering of their private intereſts. According to my judgment, it is neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of order in Sweden, that the following meaſures ſhould be adopted :—Her Imperial Majeſty ſhould declare that ſhe is informed of all the ſecret intrigues of the Cabinet of Stockholm againſt her. that ſhe would publiſh them to all Europe · that the Regency had been the firſt to break the treaties; but that, far from making it a ground of quarrel with a King whom ſhe loved, and whoſe attachment ſhe would preſerve, or with a generous nation which ſhe eſteemed, ſhe would only call to account the perſons who ſince the death of the King had ſurrounded the Regent; had led him to adopt bad meaſures, to violate his promiſes, to forget what was due to the memory of his brother, and had plunged him into misfortunes: that the Empreſs, hoping the Regent would not court ſuch dangers, had paſſed over in ſilence the non-obſervance of the arrangements made by the late King; but that at

preſent,

preſent, ſeeing His Royal Highneſs, inſtead of profiting from unfortunate experience, appeared rather to be more and more under the guidance of the faction, to which he had ſo inconſiderately given himſelf up, and which, under his name, committed the intereſts not only of all good Swedes, but alſo thoſe of Her Imperial Majeſty, ſhe found herſelf obliged, in order to re-eſtabliſh order, and for her proper ſafety, to require the following changes:

1. That the King, evincing his genius, information, and good ſenſe, ſhould be preſent at the council, but without exerciſing any authority till he ſhall have attained the age of eighteen. 2. That to the ſame council, and to the moſt important poſts at Stockholm, and in the Provinces, ſhould be admitted thoſe who had ſhewn an undaunted attachment to the political principles of the late Government, both at home and abroad. If there ſhould ſtart any difficulty as to the choice of ſuch perſons, they will be properly deſcribed, or even

named; but what would beeome more particularly neceſſary would be the exiling of ſuch as might be either dangerous or ſuſpected, of which the number does not exceed twelve or fifteen, and thoſe ſo well known, that it would be difficult to miſtake them, and who would at any rate be pointed out by thoſe who remain faithful to the good cauſe.

The capitulation with the Duke might be reduced to theſe too articles; but in order to give weight to the conditions, which, ſet out in a clear manner, would not be diſputed, a Ruſſian fleet ſhould cruiſe as high as Stockholm till the whole was concluded. There can be no doubt, that not only the Regent would congratulate himſelf on this appearance of violence, which after all would be only in appearance, which would leave him the public eſteem, and deliver him from ſurrounding dangers; but it would alſo be the only means of hindering the miſchief from taking root, and of obtaining by a ſudden and well managed revolution what would

afterwards

afterwards coſt immenſe ſums, years of time, and ſtreams of blood.

No. XC.

The Comte de Raſoumoſsky, Ruſſian Ambaſſador at Vienna, to Baron Armfelt.

Vienna, 20th May 1793.

In anſwering the letter you did me the honour of writing the 9th of March, I do not pretend to juſtify my long ſilence. I have been overwhelmed with buſineſs from the time of your departure, which has obliged me to write a great deal, and left me but few intervals of leiſure. I might, and ought to have acknowledged the receipt of it; but it would have been all I could have done, and I wiſhed to give you an anſwer as to what in your name I had ſent to be laid before the Empreſs. I now wiſh to repair the negligence I have confeſſed, without further excuſes, which your kindneſs renders unneceſſary, and proceed to give you an account of what I have done.

Your reaſonings appear to me ſo well founded, that I ſhould not have heſitated to ſend them in your hand to the Empreſs, had I not been withheld by the paragraph that regards Count Stackelberg, and I am now glad I did ſo, for I received ſoon after the news of his recall, ſo that his ſucceſſor may begin upon clear ground, and poſſibly with different inſtructions from home. It is, without doubt, the excellent memorial you ſent me, and which I forwarded immediately to the Empreſs, that will ſerve for a guide. If her majeſty ſhould judge proper to make me the channel of her anſwer, you may reſt aſſured, that I ſhall be diligent in conveying it to your hands. I am not ſurpriſed, that the anſwer has hitherto been delayed, conſidering the preſs of buſineſs that has prevented Sweden from being attended to. But, unleſs I miſtake, the moment is now come, and I ſhall certainly have ſomething to communicate very ſoon. My news from Sweden is unſatisfactory and old; I want it freſh and full. I ſtill think the real intereſts of that country to be in-

ſeparable from thoſe of Ruſſia, and that they are neglected at Stockholm. Our good Baron here lives in great ignorance of what his Government is about; he knows neither its ſyſtem nor its meaſures. He is quiet, honeſt, and well meaning, but ill informed; and he imagines that the Swediſh Miniſtry cannot act otherwiſe than as they ought. I therefore beg you to continue the confidence you have ſhewn me. My ſentiments, as to the intereſts of your country, give me, I dare to ſay it, a right to your ſincerity, and I beg you, above all, to communicate what you know —It is true, the news will go about before it arrives here; but it will be very intereſting through your hands, particularly when it has received the ingenious turn of your pen. My ideas as to Sweden, and the juſtice you did them when at Vienna, make me rely on you. You may command me in this country, if I can be of uſe. Do not judge me from what is paſſed, and be aſſured, that I ſhall always be as eager to anſwer you, as I ſhall be to convince you how much I am, &c.

No. XCI.

In Baron Armfelt's own hand.

May your Imperial Majeſty deign to permit me to lay at your feet the ſcheme of a work, which my attachment, gratitude, and profound grief have induced me to write as a monument due to the memory of Guſtavus III. I mean that it ſhould contain only his ſtriking public tranſactions, and to ſay no more of his private life than may ſerve in explanation. The beſt way of ſecuring the juſtice that is due to him, is to paint him as he was. I ſhall riſk my judgment but very ſeldom on what I ſhall ſet forth, nor will I ever ſink to flattery, being well convinced that it is more hurtful to thoſe who reign than the ſevereſt ſcrutiny. Theſe principles will pleaſe your Imperial Majeſty; may they alſo obtain her high patronage of a work, which ſhall not otherwiſe be continued! The firſt expreſſion of my grief, when Sweden was lamenting the loſs of her King, found grace in your Majeſty's ſight.

She

She then deigned to ſhed tears of ſorrow; may ſhe alſo favour an undertaking that offers new proofs and expreſſions of the ſame ſentiments. It treats of a Prince whoſe tranſcendent qualities were acknowledged by your Majeſty, who conſidered your Majeſty as the model and glory of Sovereigns, her eſteem as the precious reward of his labours; and who, having once had the misfortune to put it in doubt, took arms againſt her to recover it. Perſuaded as he was of the greatneſs of ſoul of your Majeſty, he believed that nothing could ſo much contribute to a durable alliance between Sweden and Ruſſia, as to ſucceed before your Majeſty in ſurrounding with glory his own perſon, and the nation of which he was King.

It is alſo meant to fix the opinion of this generous nation on the Monarch it has loſt, and his vile calumniators, as well as to draw a ſolemn and important leſſon for the young King who has ſucceeded. It aims, in ſhort, by preſenting a great example, to obſtruct

the views of thoſe madmen who endeavour with ſo much bitterneſs to deſtroy the royal authority. While the ſouth of Europe is ſhaken by thoſe violent and bloody attempts which overwhelm nations as well as thrones, what more glorious can the friends of order and humanity undertake, than to preſent to the miſled people the portraits of Catherine, Frederic, and Guſtavus? My feeble efforts, at leaſt, will never ſeparate the intereſts of my country from thoſe of princes and of other nations; and, in publiſhing my veneration for the memory of Guſtavus III. I have not one inſtant forgot my earneſt deſire to be uſeful to his ſon. But theſe weak expreſſions of my zeal will little avail without the protection of your Majeſty, in the career he has begun at ſo early a part of his life.

I join my glory with a ſingle wiſh, to ſee him worthy of his high deſtiny, and to ſee his ſubjects worthy of him; and the object of this wiſh cannot but be attained if your

Imperial

Imperial Majeſty, in the vaſt circle of her important occupations, will pleaſe to comprehend the affairs of Sweden.

There can be no doubt of the good intentions of the Regent. his very errors prove them; errors which his mildneſs and his deſire of conquering difficulties have produced. He hoped to abaſh audacious pretenſions by premature conceſſions; but what he gave, ſuggeſted the right of exacting all. The liberty of the preſs, granted in a moment of general fermentation, introduced the moſt daring opinions; and thus his condeſcenſion has furniſhed arms againſt himſelf. Perfidious counſellors have involved us in the misfortunes which beſet the Duke; and, forcing him to aſſemble the States, abuſe the power he has put into their hands. I dare aſſure your Majeſty, that if the Diet is called, there is an end to the royal power in Sweden. I know my countrymen. The fanaticiſm which attacks every mind will bewilder the States; and I add, with ſhame, but convinced of its truth, that they will ſell

their

their votes to give free courſe to the moſt raging, the moſt contagious licentiouſneſs; and thus it is that the central point of inſurrection will be placed in the North.

I have already preſumed to expreſs to your Majeſty my fears on this head. I do not know if they have yet made their way to your throne, or in what ſenſe. It is poſſible that there may have been reaſons for not repreſenting to your Majeſty my alarms and my wiſhes in their true light. But however that may be, I proteſt to your Majeſty, that I deſire only the tranquillity of Sweden and the ſecurity of the throne, by the bond of a ſtrict alliance with Ruſſia. I have no agitation of mind but when I yield to theſe important reflections, and I cannot deny that I revert to them continually. But the ſureſt pledge that I can offer of the purity of my intentions, is the zeal with which I have dared from the beginning of our misfortunes to importune your Majeſty, and to conjure her, by the nobleneſs and elevation of her mind, to employ her benevolence and power

in favour of that young King, who is impreſſed with filial reſpect for your Majeſty, for a nation which in its blindneſs is haſtening to anarchy, and for the intereſt of the Regent, of whoſe condeſcenſion is made ſo hurtful a uſe, while the very occaſion of his ruin will be found whenever he may appear to ſhew either reſiſtance or vigour.—All the materials are already collected; the flame will not delay burſting out. Never did circumſtances more threatening ſolicit the precaution of the Sovereign of Ruſſia, in herſelf ſo like Providence, by the union of a mighty character with power immenſe.

As for me, I flatter myſelf that your Majeſty will pardon my importunity in favour of my zeal. I fulfil a ſacred duty to my King, and it is alſo a duty to give your Majeſty the aſſurances of my reſpect. If cruel fate has pronounced the ruin of my country; if Sweden is to be ſacrificed by ſophiſts and incendiaries, my heart will henceforth be inſenſible to every other misfortune. In accepting a miſſion to a foreign country I yielded

yielded to reaſons, which, though often humiliating, do not make me bluſh. But when the holding of any employment neceſſitates a tacit conſent to what makes the ſhame and evil of my country, I do not heſitate to give up all, and I pray your Majeſty to grant me an aſylum in her dominions. The contemplation of a glorious Government will give elevation and force to my mind, for the execution of the project which I have conceived. Such is the immortal luſtre of the character and reign of your Majeſty, that during the convulſions produced by difference of opinion, Kings have recourſe to her power, and the minds engaged on ſuch important objects ſeek the help of her knowledge, while they regulate their progreſs by the maturity of her penetration.

No. XCII.

Cardinal Bernis to Baron Armfelt.

Rome, 9th Auguſt 1793

I had already received by the Abbé Bonneval

neval the plan of your Hiſtory of Guſtavus III. which the Abbé d'Heral had the kindneſs to tranſmit to me. This plan will perfectly make known the character of a Prince, who, if he had lived, would have triumphed over the calamities of our time.—I have eaſily diſcovered you in the care you have taken of the memory of a King who was worthy of his friends. I ſend this letter to the Baths at Lucca, without being quite ſure that it will find you there; but I hope that you will in no caſe doubt of my acknowledgments, nor of the tender and faithful affection with which, &c.

No. XCIII.

[This Letter is in Baron Armfelt's own hand to the Empreſs of Ruſſia. It was delivered by the Abbé Heral to the Commiſſion at Duſſeldorff]

Florence, 30*th Sept* 1793.

- - - - - I think myſelf happy in having met with the Abbé Heral, a French emigrant, and victim of the late revolution. He was a member

a member of the firſt National Aſſembly, in which he was as well known for the ſoundneſs of his principles as for his perſonal good conduct. He followed me to Italy, and has been with me ever ſince. I have ſhewn him every confidence, becauſe he is an honeſt man of good underſtanding. He is well acquainted with the particulars of my ſituation, with my mode of thinking, and conſequently with my devoted attachment to your Majeſty. I have no hope of finding any one who will interpret more faithfully the ſentiments of admiration which I muſt ever feel towards your Imperial Majeſty.—The courſe of the Abbé Heral's travels leads him to Ruſſia. In this country, formerly Roman, at preſent only Italian, he has beheld the monuments and immortal traces of heroiſm and genius: he now burns with the deſire of witneſſing the revival of thoſe qualities in the perſon of your Majeſty. I take the advantage of his diligence. He goes from hence to pay his court to the unfortunate French Princes, who know him and honour him with their eſteem and good wiſhes,

and

and who will not fail to mention him to your Majeſty, as a perſon worthy of a near ſight of your Majeſty's greatneſs and glory. My friendſhip for him has induced me to intruſt to him all my plans and hopes. Should he have the honour of communicating them to your Imperial Majeſty, he will explain with expreſſions of the enthuſiaſm that animates us both, my ardent deſire of proving to your Majeſty my zeal, and the high value which I ſhould attach to the honour of co-operating in any manner in your Majeſty's vaſt glorious and immortal purpoſes.

Your Imperial Majeſty will obſerve, that the moment is come in which I ought to ſacrifice myſelf for my King, Monſeigneur, and my friend. It is to your Majeſty that I devote myſelf, &c.

[The following paſſage is on the back of the rough draft of the foregoing, and in the hand-writing of the Abbé Heral.]

--- I ſend you, my dear General, the letter,

letter, ſuch as I think it ought to be, neither too much nor too little. We have no time to loſe. Sixty or ſeventy ſequins ought not to be conſidered in the preſent poſture of affairs. Circumſtances crowd upon us;—enable me to ſet out, and you will thank me one of theſe days for my importunity.

No. XCIV.

Baron Armfelt to the Abbé Heral.

[This Letter was delivered by the Abbé Heral to the Commiſſion at Duſſeldorff]

Rome, 19th Oct 1793.

I have no banker at Duſſeldorff; but at Aix-la-Chapelle you will find old Prim, who has always advanced me money. I write to him by this day's poſt, and I have already ſettled with Averhoff and Van Schewen at Hamburg, for 200 florins, with which they will pay Prim. Do what you think to be right as to your neceſſary expences, on two conditions, however: firſt, that you loſe no time; and ſecondly, that you contrive ſo as

not to draw on me at ſight. This laſt reſtriction will not appear extraordinary, if you conſider that I am a ruined man in money matters. I am the more embarraſſed at this moment on account of the following incident:—The plan of my publication has found its way to Sweden, and the Duke has ſent me a courier, who fell upon me like a bomb, yeſterday morning, here at Rome. The Duke attacks me ſhamefully, threatens me with the weight of his indignation, and requires, that, as an infamous calumniator, I ſhould retract.—My reſolution is taken. I anſwer, that in the plan of my work I have ſaid nothing but the truth, and what I can fairly prove; that he muſt not expect his anger and menaces to induce me to act unworthy of myſelf and of the great King to whom I had ſacrificed my labours; that I would wait my fate with courage and patience; and that, in my unfortunate condition, I ſhould be proud of becoming the victim of my attachment, and of my admiration of the late King.—You ſee, my friend, that I have nothing to hope for in Sweden,

and that for the three years that are to come, I have no reſource or country but in Ruſſia. I ought to write on this ſubject to the Empreſs; but if you get on with tolerable diſpatch, it will not be neceſſary. I ſhall have got through the value of my jewels by the month of December, and I ſhall then find myſelf in the bottom of Italy, with a wife and children, without a penny. My condition is hopeleſs, but I do not loſe courage. If ever one man held the deſtiny of another, it is undoubtedly you who are the inſtrument by which mine will ſoon be decided.

No. XCV.

Baron Armfelt to the Empreſs of Ruſſia.

[This Letter is in the Baron's own hand-writing it was entruſted to M. La Sources, who gave it up to the Chamber of Police at Stockholm]

Naples, 11th Dec 1793.

- - - I hope the Abbé Heral, Great Vicar of Bordeaux, will have already had the honour

nour of laying at your Majeſty's feet the moſt humble aſſurances of my reſpect and of my gratitude.

I have conveyed, ſince his departure, to Comte Raſomofski, your Majeſty's Ambaſſador at Vienna, ſeveral papers on the preſent ſituation of affairs, with which my heart and ſoul are inceſſantly occupied.—The only circumſtance that gives me new hopes, is my belief that the magnanimity of your Majeſty, ſtill greater than your power, will be pleaſed to overlook the juſt motives of reſentment which have been offered to her, and will liſten only to the tender intereſt, of which ſhe has already given ſo many proofs, in behalf of a minor King, choſen by Providence to reign over a nation that looks on the tie of friendſhip between the two countries, as the greateſt bleſſing Sweden received from Guſtavus III. and as his greateſt work. The perſon who is charged with this letter will croſs Sweden, in his way to Peterſburg, and will poſſibly find an opportunity of evincing his

his zeal for your Majeſty's ſervice, to which he was attached during the laſt war.

I beſeech your Majeſty to be pleaſed to accept the aſſurances of the profound reſpect with which I have the honour, &c.

THE END.

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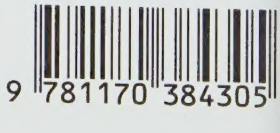

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